ABSTRACT

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of the study was (1) to examine the establishment, growth, curriculum, schedules, practices, and objectives of the public schools in the Moroccan Berber tribal region of Ourika; (2) to point out a number of cultural aspects of the school community during the school years 1957-1958 through 1962-1963 that have significant implications for education; (3) to determine to what extent the existing school program is meeting the needs of the community; and (4) to make recommendations for the improvement of these schools.

II. PROCEDURE

The study included intensive observation and evaluation of the Ourika tribal schools and of the Ourika school community during the period of August, 1961, through May, 1963. The writer's purpose in using this procedure was to understand more fully the influences of the present school system upon the Berber tribal members of Ourika, and to understand more fully the attitude of tribal members toward the public schools recently located within the tribe. Numerous trips were made into the tribal area to take photographs, to observe teachers teaching, and to study the school curriculum, teaching schedules, and teaching plans. A careful sociological study of the people was made in order that a more realistic educational program could be proposed.

EDUCATION AMONG THE OURIKA

A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLS--1957-1963

An Abstract

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School

Appalachian State Teachers College

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

---

by

Ernest M. Morgan

August 1963

EDUCATION AMONG THE OURIKA

A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLS--1957-1963

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School

Appalachian State Teachers College

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

---

by

Ernest M. Morgan

August 1963

III. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions were reached as a result of the study:

1. The present system of education among the Ourika fails in many respects to meet individual and tribal needs.

2. The present system of education is provided by the central government, and this effort has increased the number of schools, teachers, and students.

3. Present economic and social conditions in the tribe could be improved by the provision of a more realistic and functional educational program.

4. An improved attitude and practice in social relations could come from an educational program which utilizes functional experiences for this purpose as a basic part of the program.

5. The school program could be better designed to meet tribal needs by improvements in teacher education and by the recruiting of man-wife teaching teams.

6. The school educational program could become more effective by the establishment of a community council for school affairs which would include indigenous persons as members.

7. The Ministry of Education must continue to play an important role in tribal education by furnishing funds and by proposing possibilities and alternatives for education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful acknowledgment is given to Dr. John Glenn Barden, Dr. Julian Clifton Yoder, and Dr. William Edmund Fulmer for their helpful guidance and assistance in putting the study in final form. Sincere thanks is given to Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of the public schools of the tribal region of Ourika, who made all of the school records for the region available, as well as graciously allowing the many visits to the school classrooms during the entire period of the study, and who made many of the original contacts for interviews with the patrons of the school community. Sincere thanks is expressed to the Caid, who gave permission and introduction for travel in the tribal region, and to many tribal members who, on every occasion, displayed the finest hospitality and generosity by opening their homes and sharing their tables. Appreciation is given to Si Hassan, President of the mountain commune, who shared his hopes for progress for the tribe through the establishment and growth of the public schools, and who gave so much information pertaining to the school community. Special acknowledgment and appreciation is given to my wife, Louise, who served so unselfishly and traveled so many days throughout the tribe, many times by foot over rough trails, eating strange foods, and serving so skillfully in transcribing and typing notes, as well as making pointed observations as schools and villages were visited and interviews were held. Gratitude is given to my son, Ernest, who added greatly to the study by taking most of the photographs included in the study, as well as by drawing two of the maps.

EDUCATION AMONG THE OURIKA

A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLS--1957-1963

---

by

Ernest M. Morgan

Approved by:

John G. Barden
Chairman of Thesis Advisory Committee

Gratis Williams
Director of Graduate Studies

William E. Tulmer
Major Professor

H. Yoder
Minor Professor

Figure ii. Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, who gave many hours of his time discussing plans for establishing new schools and in explaining many customs and traditions of his tribe. According to his account, his ancestors came to Ourika from the Sous Valley. His grandfather was poet to Hassan I, grandfather of Hassan II, the present King of Morocco.

Figure 1. Mohammed Leman, Superintendent of the Schools of Ourika, who made all of his school records available, traveled throughout the tribe to visit all schools of the tribal region, and made introductions to the people of the tribe. Central School is in the background.

CHAPTER PAGE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

FIGURE PAGE

FIGURE PAGE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The rising tide of nationalism has brought recent independence to many nations in Africa. With this newly acquired status came the desire to obtain economic, social and political advances at an unprecedented rate. There has been a frantic zeal to accomplish in a few short years the stage of development that other nations have taken centuries to attain. The Kingdom of Morocco has been engaged in this effort since independence from France was achieved on March 2, 1956.[1] Consolidating their new nation into a viable political, economic, and social unit has called for a well-administered program to reach the citizens of both the urban and rural regions. The rural areas are inhabited by the large number of Berbers who live as their ancestors have lived for centuries in the remote mountainous regions.

The establishment of the public school system and the effectiveness of the educational program in meeting the needs of the rural tribal members, as well as the aspirations of the central government, are fundamental to the success and stability of the new government. The haste with which this educational plan was formulated and instituted has left basic needs unfilled, and it seems imperative that alterations should be made in a number of areas in order to have a more effective program.

---

[1] Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, A Report Prepared by the Department of State, Publication 6567 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 6.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The purpose of the study was (1) to examine the establishment, growth, curriculum, schedules, practices, and objectives of the public schools; (2) to point out a number of cultural aspects of the school community during the school years 1957-1958 through 1962-1963 that have significant implications for education; (3) to determine to what extent the existing school program is meeting the needs of the community; and (4) to make recommendations for improvement of these schools (in the Moroccan Berber tribal region of Ourika).

Importance of the study. The importance of the study is derived from the information gained from a study of the newly instituted school system in the tribe of Ourika. Knowledge gained concerning many cultural aspects of the tribe has led to some recommendations which, it is believed, would bring improvements to the schools. These recommendations, if acted upon, could lead to the development of schools which would better meet the needs of the community and bring improvements which may lead to a better way of life for members of the tribal community and subsequently to the Moroccan nation.

The study was considered a timely one because the future welfare of many newly developing nations depends, to a great degree, on the education given to its rural citizens. Great amounts of energy and funds are being expended for the educational program. The success of these experiments depends on the skill and planning in fulfilling the needs of members of the local community. Special care must be given to educate,

to integrate, and to mold the population into a strong state with the will and ability to work together to solve the many existing problems.

The school district of Ourika was chosen for the study because there had been no public school system in the region prior to 1957 except for four small schools operated by the French Colonial Government. It was also selected because of the importance of the reaction and the initial effect of the schools on these people who are representative of the large isolated group of Berbers living a primitive way of life so far removed from the influences which have given the world modern civilization.

The study was intended to obtain some insight into the operation and influence of a school in an ancient cultural society which was experiencing some aspects of modern technology in which the patrons of the school had little or no part. Through a more concentrated study of the many people living in isolated areas may come suggestions for better methods and procedures for bringing about the transition from primitive to modern culture and for integrating the ideology of and efforts for a better way of life for a large number of the people of the world.

Limitations of the study. The greatest problem encountered in the study was the great difference between the culture of the researcher and the culture of the tribal members. School objectives had to be reduced to the most fundamental elements for effective application to tribal needs. Written objectives of the school were far more ambitious than could be attained. Until an adjustment was made to these important problems, no real understanding of the community and the school program

was possible. Another basic limitation resulted from a lack of facility by the researcher in Arabic, Berber, and French since records were written in Arabic or French and interviews were held in French, Arabic, or Berber. School records in some cases were non-existent or had been poorly prepared and kept.

Hospitality practiced by tribal members was not to be confused with trust. One of the greatest difficulties also encountered was the suspicion shown toward other members of the tribe as well as toward outsiders. No doubt their very existence has depended on the distrust they have had for others, and their experience has strengthened and entrenched this way of thinking and behaving.

Investigation was made of the immediate post-independence days when pride of the officials of the central government, including some school personnel, caused them to be sensitive at times to the identification of problems existing in the school program. Since independence has been achieved, there has been great pride in attempting to cope with educational problems without outside help or in pretending that problems did not exist at all.

The study was limited to the Berber tribe of Ourika, which is a small segment of the large Berber tribal area of Morocco, and to the school years 1957-1958 through 1962-1963. The study was also limited to certain areas of tribal culture and did not include vast areas of information which would be of interest including religion, music, tribal law, superstitions and magic. Recommendations for improvement of the school curriculum, which are of necessity of a general nature, include a

basic philosophy of education which, to be effective, must be mutually acceptable and mutually satisfying rather than being a detailed preconceived program imposed upon the community.

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Tribe of Ourika. Throughout the report of this investigation, the phrase "tribe of Ourika" refers to the group of Berbers living within the confines of prescribed geographic boundaries within the region of Marrakech, Morocco.

Tribal area of Ourika. The phrase "tribal area of Ourika" refers to the geographical area inhabited by the 24,000 Berber tribal members of Ourika.

Schools of Ourika. Reference to schools of Ourika includes those public schools only which were established or taken over by the Moroccan government in 1957 or established since that time and which are located within the geographic and administrative tribal boundaries.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE THESIS

Chapter II gives a review of the literature as it relates to an understanding of the cultural background of a primitive people and which aids in giving a basis for insight into a more realistic program for education in such an area.

Chapter III includes certain basic elements of geography and offers a brief history of the Arabs with special emphasis on their influence upon the Berbers. Included also are a number of important

aspects of material culture, customs and social relations with a brief account of political organization.

Chapter IV contains an introduction to the school program with information on school establishment and growth beginning in 1957-1958 and continuing through 1962-1963. Information is assembled on school locations, number of classrooms, number of teachers, and enrollment by grades. Included also are charts showing annual summaries of the enrollment, number of teachers, number of classes, and number of locations. Information is also given on number and age of students taking and passing examination for the elementary diploma for school years 1960-1961 and 1961-1962. Another problem of school establishment, organization, and administration is shown by the chart on distance of schools from the central school at Takatert. The problem of basic subsistance and economic needs of parents and students is indicated by a chart showing the number of free lunches supplied to students during certain school years. Much of the basic curriculum is included along with samples of teachers' weekly time schedules in order to understand what program was being followed during the period of the study.

Chapter V presents the results of the evaluation of the school curriculum in view of the culture of the community and the needs of the students and the community and gives a summary of the findings with conclusions and recommendations.

IV. METHOD OF RESEARCH AND PROCEDURES

The initial observation of the urban schools of Morocco was made during the period between August, 1954, and June, 1955, when the terrorists--Moroccan nationals engaged in covert as well as overt activities to wrest independence from the French--were waging their campaign for independence. During this period some brief visits were made to the schools in Casablanca operated by the French Colonial Government. Several trips were also made into the mountainous tribal regions to observe the Berber people in their traditional environment. There they were found to be engaged in intensive guerrilla warfare, and freedom of movement was restricted; consequently, efforts to make an effective study of the area prior to the establishment of public schools were hampered. Upon returning to Morocco in September, 1957, after a two-year tour of duty in Germany, further observations were made by the writer through May, 1963. Intensive observations of the Ourika schools and the Ourika school community were made during the period of August, 1961, through May, 1963. Visits were made to important Moorish historical sites in southern Spain during the summer of 1962.

All records in the central school and office of the regional chief or Caid, located in Takatert, were screened for useful information. All of the tribal schools were visited and the teachers' daily, weekly, and yearly schedules and objectives studied. Interviews were held with many teachers, the director of the regional schools, and students. The development of the school curriculum was studied, and major portions of

the most recent program were considered and evaluated. Many visits were made to the teacher education institution located in Marrakech.

Several Dallas huts were donated by the United States Air Bases in Morocco for use as schools in the tribe of Ourika. The researcher aided in the construction of the huts for two schools and was able to observe the reaction of some of the tribal members toward the school as the buildings took shape.

Valuable information was gained as relationships were observed between hundreds of American students and teachers from Ben Guerir Air Base and Berber students and teachers from Ourika as they engaged in a series of exchange visits during the period of 1957-1963. Koranic schools in the tribe were also studied in an attempt to obtain information on educational institutions of former years.

The study also included many interviews and first-hand observations of the patrons of the school and the school community. Interviews were held with the regional and village chiefs, the president of the mountain political committee, potters, ironworkers, butchers, barbers, woodcutters, farmers, "kief" peddlers and smokers, sheepherders, masons, and religious leaders. Interviews were also held with palmetto gatherers and the factory manager.

Visits were made to many villages and homes where women were engaged in spinning, weaving, grinding flour, baking, and cooking. During these visits many men of the villages were observed engaging in lengthy discussions and social gatherings while the women did most of the work. Much was learned from eating and sleeping in the homes of native Berbers. Many days were spent in observing the customs in the market.

The report of the study presents a compilation of these observations and interviews and, in the light of them, evaluates the school curriculum as to its adequacy in meeting community needs. Recommendations for changes are made for bringing the school program more in line with community needs.

V. TREATMENT OF THE FINDINGS

Upon the completion of the study and compilation of certain factors of school growth, school curriculum, weekly schedules, practices and objectives of the schools of Ourika during 1957-1963, a number of general recommendations for the improvement of the school system were made.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

With the exception of government bulletins, nothing has been written directly concerning the establishment of public schools and their relation to the school community in the Berber region of Morocco. Although the development of schools is a new undertaking, problems of the Berber tribesmen of Ourika are so similar to those of people elsewhere that suggestions from other works relating to the improvement of the educational program among primitive people and rural people are considered important and will be included here.

I. LITERATURE ON INFERENCES FOR CURRICULUM MAKING

William J. McKee's New Schools for Young India describes the efforts of educators in India to develop schools that will help the new India to meet its needs more adequately. The description of conditions with which the schools have to cope and the shortcomings of the existing educational program in early village schools suggests that the situation is not so very different from that found among the Ourika people in Morocco. McKee says:

> . . . (1) the formal and mechanical nature of education resulting from the fact that subject matter and method bore no relation to the pupil's life and social needs, the language used being unfamiliar (classical), the subject matter far beyond his capacity, and the

method that of memorizing and cramming; (2) the neglect of attempts to form desirable ideals, attitudes, and appreciations; . . .[1]

. . . the educational system . . . is considered by many to be too official, too rigid, and too highly centralized. Personal influence and local responsibility have diminished, while official dominance has increased. Local experimentation and differentiation have been discouraged by a rigidly controlled system centralized in a comparatively small group of people, and the elementary school curriculum and methods of instruction have been largely determined by the demands of the universities and the secondary schools.[2]

As to the philosophy of education for rural people, McKee points out that an adequate and comprehensive philosophy should include the following:

. . . (1) Emphasis placed upon self-activity; . . . (4) an intimate affectionate relationship between pupil and teacher; . . . (7) a spirit of considerable mental freedom, together with an absence of rigid organizations and fixed programs, so that the pupil's acquiring of knowledge depended to an appreciable extent upon his own eagerness for it; (8) emphasis upon the formation of desired attitudes and ideals and the development of character; (9) a high conception of the dignity of manual labor and of its compatability with intellectual pursuits; (10) a belief in strict self-discipline as an aid in the building of character.[3]

II. LITERATURE ON A SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

As to the education of teachers, Barden's work, A Suggested Program of Teacher Training for Mission Schools Among the Batetela, contains the following suggestions for the preparation of Berber teachers:

The teacher is the keystone in the arch of the whole program for . . . schools. No matter how clearly defined may be the objectives, or how detailed the program formulated, if there are no teachers whose training will give them a vision of the possibilities of

---

[1]William J. McKee, New Schools for Young India (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930), p. 15.

[2]Ibid., p. 27.

[3]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

education, a clear conception of the aims and objectives set forth, and who have character and preparation that will enable them to be a factor in aiding the pupils to attain the aims, the program will be a failure.[4]

If the teacher is to be the dynamic force that transforms the school into an indispensable force in village life, he must have adequate preparation. His preparation must be such that it will enable him to appreciate the social and physical environment of the people, understand their lacks and needs in daily living, and know how to help them to lay hold of the possibilities for more wholesome living.[5]

Teachers with an adequate understanding of the problem and the needs of the tribal members will be in a better position to help formulate objectives of a sound educational program, and they will be able to help develop procedures to meet these goals. Because of the unique preparation of teachers, they should be represented on a proposed school council designed for the operation and improvement of schools in Ourika.

III. LITERATURE ON A SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR AGRICULTURE

Concerning agricultural education, Barden recommended local experimentation as a method of instruction. He states the following:

The school can do much to eradicate superstitions connected with agriculture by making use of demonstration plots cultivated by different methods. If possible the same person should use different methods in consecutive plots. In this way the natives can be taught the importance of seed selection, methods of planting and preparation of seed beds, methods of enriching the soil, methods of cultivation, as well as plant fertilization and reproduction.[6]

McKee also revealed additional insights for agriculture. He described this part of the work of the school as follows:

---

[4]John Glenn Barden, A Suggested Program of Teacher Training for Mission Schools Among the Batetela (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941), p. 66.

[5]Ibid., p. 113.

[6]Ibid., p. 56.

> Another institution . . . is the Agricultural School . . . which aims to teach agriculture and its related industries and to lead students in village reconstruction. The method used is to provide pupils with land and stock, for which they pay rent and which they work in co-operation with the general farm and under the supervision of its manager. Each student grows the vegetables or crops in which he is most interested, and his difficulties and problems are the basis of the classroom instruction. The student harvests his product, sells it, and keeps the proceeds left after the necessary expenses are paid. The aim is to make students as nearly self-supporting as possible. Records are kept of the pupils' work, the problems that arise, the results secured, methods of improving these, and all financial transactions. The emphasis throughout is upon learning by doing, upon experimentation, and upon the best utilization of all profitable experience.
>
> The same arrangements exist for the keeping of poultry, for dairying, and for tanning, weaving, dyeing, and carpentry. Each pupil selects one of these, in addition to agriculture; he buys his own materials, works them up under life conditions, learns how to keep tools in repair, and how to co-operate advantageously in the purchase and sale of the products.
>
> Nor are the literary and appreciative sides of life neglected. . . . The students also produce their own magazine, which is largely devoted to reporting their experiences and experiments. Music, dramatics, folk dances, social fellowship, and games are emphasized. Hygiene, sanitation, and disease prevention receive attention.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The principal of this school feels that the system of education in operation there is valuable because it emphasizes freedom, initiative, responsibility, and a natural combination of handwork and headwork, of culture and service.[7]

Suggestions made by those who have had experience in developing educational experiences for primitive and rural people, if carefully considered and put to use, would render a significant contribution to the development of the educational program for the Berbers of Ourika.

---

[7] McKee, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

I. A BRIEF HISTORY OF MOROCCO

Moroccan history has to a great extent been shaped by its peculiarly strategic location. The Phoenicians were the first of a long series of invaders who swept over and conquered the land. Tangier, or Tingus, founded in 570 B.C., was among the commercial colonies established in the centuries before the Christian era. The Romans ruled over the region from the first century B.C. until the fifth century.[1] The Vandals over-ran the country in A.D. 429 and established a loose suzerainty over the independent Berber tribes. In A.D. 534, the Byzantine Greeks overthrew the Vandals and ruled the region.[2] In the seventh century, following the death of Mohammed the Prophet, the Arabs swept over North Africa and brought Islam into Morocco.[3]

Soon after the subjugation of Egypt, which took place from A.D. 640 to A.D. 643, Uqbah ibn Nafi undertook the conquest of the Berber tribes of Morocco. These tribes were divided by tribal conflicts,

---

[1] Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, A Report Prepared by the Department of State, Publication 6567 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 5.

[2] James Harvey Robinson, An Introduction to the History of Western Europe (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1946), pp. 41-47.

[3] Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, loc. cit.

but they soon joined the invaders. Upon the death of Uqbah ibn Nafi, the territory had to be evacuated until Hassan ibn-al-Numan al-Ghassani was able to put an end to Byzantine authority and Berber resistance. Musa ibn-Nusayr enforced Arab rule and made the area independent of Egypt and directly responsible to the caliph in Damascus.[4]

Berbers were of the Hamitic branch of the Caucasian race and may have formed one stock with the Semites in prehistoric times. Many of the Berbers of the coastal lands had become Christians; but, with the Arab conquest, Islam was carried not only to the Berbers of the plains but to the Berbers of the mountainous regions also. With the new blood of the Berbers, Islam made sensational advances. In A.D. 711, Tariq, a Berber freedman who launched a maurading expedition into Spain, began what was to become a campaign to bring the largest area of European territory into the Arab domain.[5] In A.D. 788, Moulay Idris ben Abdullah, a descendant of Mohammed, was accepted as ruler and established the first independent state as Idris I.[6]

A powerful army took shape and rolled across the desert, forcing many tribes--including some Negro tribes--to embrace Islam. In time, Islam subdued northern Africa and Spain where they subjugated not only the Christians but their co-religionists as well.[7] This movement was

---

[4]Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs (fifth edition; London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 213.

[5]Ibid., p. 214.

[6]Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, loc. cit.

[7]Ibid.

the result of the work of a religious-military brotherhood that originated in lower Senegal. Followers were recruited mainly from the Lamtunah tribe--a branch of the Sanhajah tribe whose members lived as nomads in the desert wastes of the Sahara Desert, as do their descendants, the Touaregs, to the present day. The success of this army was due to the marriage of the sword to Islam; and it led to an era in which a Berber people for the first time in history were playing a leading role in world affairs. Yusif ibn-Tashfin, who reigned from 1061 to 1106, was one of the builders of this empire. He founded the city of Marrakech in 1062, and it served as the capital of this vast empire.[8]

A group of Berbers from the Zenata tribe, located in the Atlas Mountains, ruled the region from 1174 until 1549. At that time, Christian invaders threatened their power; and native religious leaders claiming Sherifian status, or descendancy from Mohammed, gained power and established the Saadian dynasty. This dynasty was followed by another group rallying around a religious brotherhood and also claiming to be descendants of Mohammed from Ali, son-in-law of the prophet. They established the Alouite dynasty which has ruled Morocco to this day.[9]

After the expulsion of the Moors, or Moriscos, from Spain in 1609,[10] the power of the Berbers was to be felt in many parts of the world. They formed the Barbary States and engaged in piracy, primarily

---

[8]Hitti, op. cit., pp. 541-42.

[9]Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, loc. cit.

[10]Hitti, op. cit., p. 556.

against the Christians at first. So lucrative was the trade, however, that the coasts of Italy, France, and Spain were not safe from this scourge of the sea. This piracy reached its height in the seventeenth century. Even the United States was later involved. For a period of several years, beginning in 1796, the United States Government paid $83,000 anually for protection.[11] To a great extent, it was this trouble with the Barbary pirates that led to a treaty between Morocco and the United States in 1786.[12] Morocco fell under the influence of European powers during the nineteenth century and finally emerged as a protectorate of France in the Treaty of Fez of March 30, 1912.[13]

Spain sent an expedition into northern Morocco in 1909 and in 1911 and claimed the region opposite the Spanish coast. In 1912, an agreement was signed which gave Spain the Spanish Zone of Influence. Germany became uneasy over this Spanish action and the French activity in Morocco and, in order to protect her interest, moved the gunboat, Panther, to the waters of the coastal town of Agadir, almost precipitating the First World War. This incident was settled by giving Germany a section of the French Congo. In 1923, the International Zone of Tangier was established by a convention signed by France, Spain, and Great Britain, and later agreed to by other powers.[14]

---

[11] Hitti, op. cit., p. 712.

[12] Rom Landau, Moroccan Drama, 1900-1955 (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1956), pp. 185-86.

[13] Ibid., p. 82.

[14] Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, op. cit., p. 6.

The rise of nationalism following World War II and the organization of political elements resulted in Moroccan independence, authorized by the Franco-Moroccan Agreement of March 2, 1956.[15] This was followed by a joint declaration on April 7, 1956, and the Spanish Protectorate over northern Morocco was ended. On October 29, 1956, representatives of the Tangier International Committee of Control abolished control over the International Zone of Tangier.[16] By these agreements, Morocco regained her sovereignty and her general geographic area although the southern border was not definitely established. Morocco began her present era of history by tackling many important problems resulting from this independence. Included in these problems were the formulation of effective economic and social reforms, the training of technicians and administrators to replace the French and the Spanish, the conclusion of basic accords with these two countries, the integration of these three former sections of Morocco, and the introduction of constitutional government. Morocco began her present status as a constitutional monarchy.[17]

The Berbers of the region of Ourika, although greatly influenced by the first Arab invasion in A.D. 648,[18] today possess many cultural characteristics of the Bedouins who entered Morocco in great numbers in

---

[15] Landau, op. cit., p. 400.

[16] Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, loc. cit.

[17] Ibid., p. 7.

[18] Carleton Stevens Coon, Harvard African Studies (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1931), IX, pp. 26-27.

the eleventh century.[19] The earlier Arab invaders were missionaries and explorers, and much of their success in planting Islam may have resulted from the fact that they brought no women with them and did not hesitate to marry into Berber families. These first Arab invaders were men of high culture and good families who spoke classical Arabic. They were highly literate and were skilled in Koranic learning and culture--all of which led to the establishment of great centers of learning such as Kairoween University in Fez and Yousifia University in Marrakech. The Berbers appropriated the teachings of Islam as their way of life, retained their language, and, to a great extent, retained their old manner of living which exists to this day.[20]

The Arabs who entered Morocco in the eleventh century brought their families with them. Their interest was not in propagating the Islamic faith nor in erecting universities. They were numerous enough to compete seriously with the plains-dwelling Berbers for land, camping grounds, and new pasturage for their flocks. The Berbers have always withdrawn to the security of their mountain fortresses when seriously threatened.[21] It was from these protected fortresses that the Berbers on several occasions joined forces with invading armies from the southern slopes of the Atlas Mountains and northern Sahara to help unite Morocco by religious crusades.[22] The isolation and impregnability of the area,

---

[19]Ibid., p. 34. [20]Ibid., pp. 26-27. [21]Ibid., p. 34.

[22]Gustave Harcourt, Morocco--An Outline of History (Rabat: United States Operations Mission, 1960), p. 11.

resulting from the ruggedness inherent in both its people and its landscape, enhances to this day the preservation of ancient racial strains and cultural aspects but impedes or prevents the work of the researcher.[23]

Until the founding of the new state of Israel, there were about seventy-five Jewish families located within the confines of the tribe. At the present time, only four families remain. Near Arhbalou is a Jewish Shrine to Rabbi Shelomo bel Hanss. His real name was Rabbi Shelome Cohen. Bel Hanss means "son of a snake." According to tradition, he is called Bel Hanss because snakes would have come to his rescue had he been attacked. Also, people who were attacked in his area were rescued by snakes. His shrine has been made a point of pilgrimage by many Moroccan Jews.[24]

The tribe of Ourika, located on the northwest slopes of the central section of the High Atlas Mountains, is inhabited by a portion of the seven million Berbers living in the regions of Africa located between the Atlantic Coast and the Libyan Desert.[25] In this remote region, tribesmen are living a primitive way of life considered to have been followed by their ancestors for more than five thousand years.[26] Their language is unwritten except for the script of the Touaregs.[27]

---

[23]Coon, op. cit., p. 22.

[24]Interview with Heim Levy on May 15, 1963.

[25]Editors of LIFE MAGAZINE, The Epic of Man (New York: Time Inc., 1961), p. 269.

[26]Ibid., p. 268.

[27]Ibid., p. 269.

II. GEOGRAPHY

The Atlas Mountains dominate Morocco. The High Atlas range extends northeast from the Atlantic coastal region into Algeria with elevations ranging from five thousand feet to more than thirteen thousand feet. The Middle Atlas range, located to the northwest of the High Atlas range, runs parallel with these mountains northeast to about the central section of the Rif Mountains. This range is the chief watershed between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. South of the High Atlas range and running parallel with these mountains is the Anti-Atlas range. This range runs from about the central section of the High Atlas range southeast nearly to the Atlantic Ocean. The Sous River separates these two mountain ranges and flows into the Atlantic Ocean. The terrain between the Atlantic Ocean and the Middle Atlas range consists of plains and high tablelands cut by rivers flowing from the mountains into the Atlantic Ocean. To the south, between the High Atlas range and the coast, lies a broad plain. In the northern part of this plain, there is sufficient rainfall for growing good crops of wheat and barley. In the southern part, barley is the chief crop; but there is only a marginal production of a few bushels per acre because of the scant rainfall. The best agricultural land lies in the great plains north and west of the Atlas Mountain ranges, with the Rif Mountains separating these plains from the Mediterranean coastline. Except for an occasional oasis, the land south of the Atlas ranges is largely desert.[27]

---

[27] Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, op. cit., p. 1.

In line with the rainfall pattern, most of the rivers of Morocco flow west from the slopes of the Atlas Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean. These rivers, which are essential to the development of much of the agriculture in Morocco and which are used for many irrigation systems, are fed by the watershed of the three large Atlas Mountain ranges. The melting snows furnish water, and this extends the growing season during the hot, dry summers. The Sebou and the Oum er Rbia are important rivers, as are the Loukkos, which empties into the sea at Larache, and the Bou Regreg, which provided a port for the pirates of Sale. The Tensift River serves for irrigating the region of Marrakech. The Moulawya River runs northeast to the Mediterranean Sea and serves a large irrigation project in the area. South of the Atlas Mountains, being absorbed by the desert sands, are the Ziz and the Draa Rivers which are fed by the melting snow of the High Atlas range. Dates are grown as the principal crop along these rivers. The Sous River serves the large agricultural valley between the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas ranges and flows west into the Atlantic Ocean at the city of Agadir.[28]

Morocco has short, rainy winters and long, dry summers. Rains are irregular, violent, and brief.[29] About twenty-five inches of rain fall each year in the northern part of Morocco, with a decline to about twelve inches each year in the southern region west of the High Atlas

---

[28]H. N. Watenpaugh, The Land of Morocco (Rabat, Morocco: United States Operations Mission, 1960), pp. 3-4.

[29]Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, loc. cit.

range. In the northern part of Morocco, east of the Atlas Mountains, there are about ten to fifteen inches of rainfall, with a decline to less than five inches in the southern reaches of Morocco. In some sections, there is none at all. The mountains facing the direction of the rain-bearing winds from the Atlantic Ocean receive about thirty-five inches of rain each year which supplies several large irrigation projects now in operation. In winter, the temperatures vary from well above freezing in the south to well below freezing inland and to the north. Several peaks in the Atlas Mountains remain snow-capped most of the year. In the summer, the prevailing winds are reversed and bring hot air from the Sahara Desert. Here again, the mountains act as a buffer to shield the area northwest of the mountains from many of these hot winds. It is not uncommon, however, for the temperature in the interior to reach 120 degrees Fahrenheit.[30]

The area of the tribe of Ourika contains forty thousand acres. The geographical center is approximately thirty-one degrees twenty minutes north latitude and seven degrees forty minutes west longitude. The Ourika River rises on the slopes of the High Atlas range and flows in a northerly direction, joining the Tensift River approximately six miles northwest of the city of Marrakech. The lowest point of elevation is 1,600 feet; the highest point, 13,800 feet. The greatest portion of the tribal lands lies on the northwest slope of the High Atlas range which runs from northeast to southwest through the central to southern region

---

[30]Watenpaugh, op. cit., pp. 2-4.

of Morocco. The tribal domain is bounded on the northwest by the fertile plain of Marrakech. The Ourika River with its main tributaries is the prime factor in the development of farming in the tribe. An abundance of water from the melting snows is used to irrigate the many terraced fields along the river and streams. The tribal land is divided into three main divisions: farmland, forest land, and mountain slopes and high plateaus for grazing sheep and goats. There are twenty thousand acres of forest land and five thousand acres of farm land. In addition, there are fifteen thousand acres of mountain land used for grazing.[31] Temperatures in the tribal region are greatly influenced by the changes in altitude, but no records of temperature were available for this region. The lower reaches of the valley are frost-free, with the highest elevations covered with snow each year from November through June. The tribal area is characterized by narrow valleys and steep slopes. Soil for farming is, by necessity, terraced and extremely limited. It has been divided many times so that a family farm now averages two and one-half acres. An ever-present hazard is that the hot winds from the Sahara Desert will blow across the snow-covered Atlas Mountains and quickly melt the snow, causing flooding. Such a tragedy occurred in December, 1961, when much precious soil along the river and a number of flour mills were washed away. Extensive damage was done to the irrigation system, and the main road along the river was washed out in a number of places. Two schools were also washed away.

---

[31]Interview held with Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, February 22, 1962.

Figure 1. The main road leading into the valley of Ourika. The auto route is accessible for twenty-six kilometers, or 15 miles. A peak of the High Atlas range is visible beyond the long mountain range.

Figure 2. Forest land on the steep slopes of Ourika. In the center and foreground are shown a village and olive orchard.

Figure 3. Lower boundary, villages, and olive orchards of Ourika. The lower boundary of Ourika is to the left; olive orchards surround the small village in the center. The village of Akhlij is just visible to the right at the foot of the mountain. The village market, called "Souk Etnine," is located below this village.

Figure 4. Map of Morocco.


0 50 100 MILES
SPAIN
GIBRALTAR
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TANGIER
MELILLA (Sp.)
RIF
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
SEBOU R.
FEZ
RABAT
BOU REGREG R.
MEKNES
CASABLANCA
MOULOUYA R.
ALGERIA
MIDDLE ATLAS
SAFI
TENSIFT R.
MARRAKECH
MOROCCO
GUIR R.
HIGH ATLAS
OUARZAZATE
ZIZ R.
AGADIR
SOUS R.
ANTI ATLAS
IFNI
DRA R.
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF MOROCCO AS YET UNDEFINED

Figure 5. Portion of map of Morocco Blondel la Rougery, Paris, 1958.[32] A general outline of the Ourika school district is shown by the shaded area.

---

[32] Permission to include portion of this map granted by Max Blondel La Rougery, BLONDEL LA ROUGERY S.A., Paris, France, in his letter of May 15, 1962.

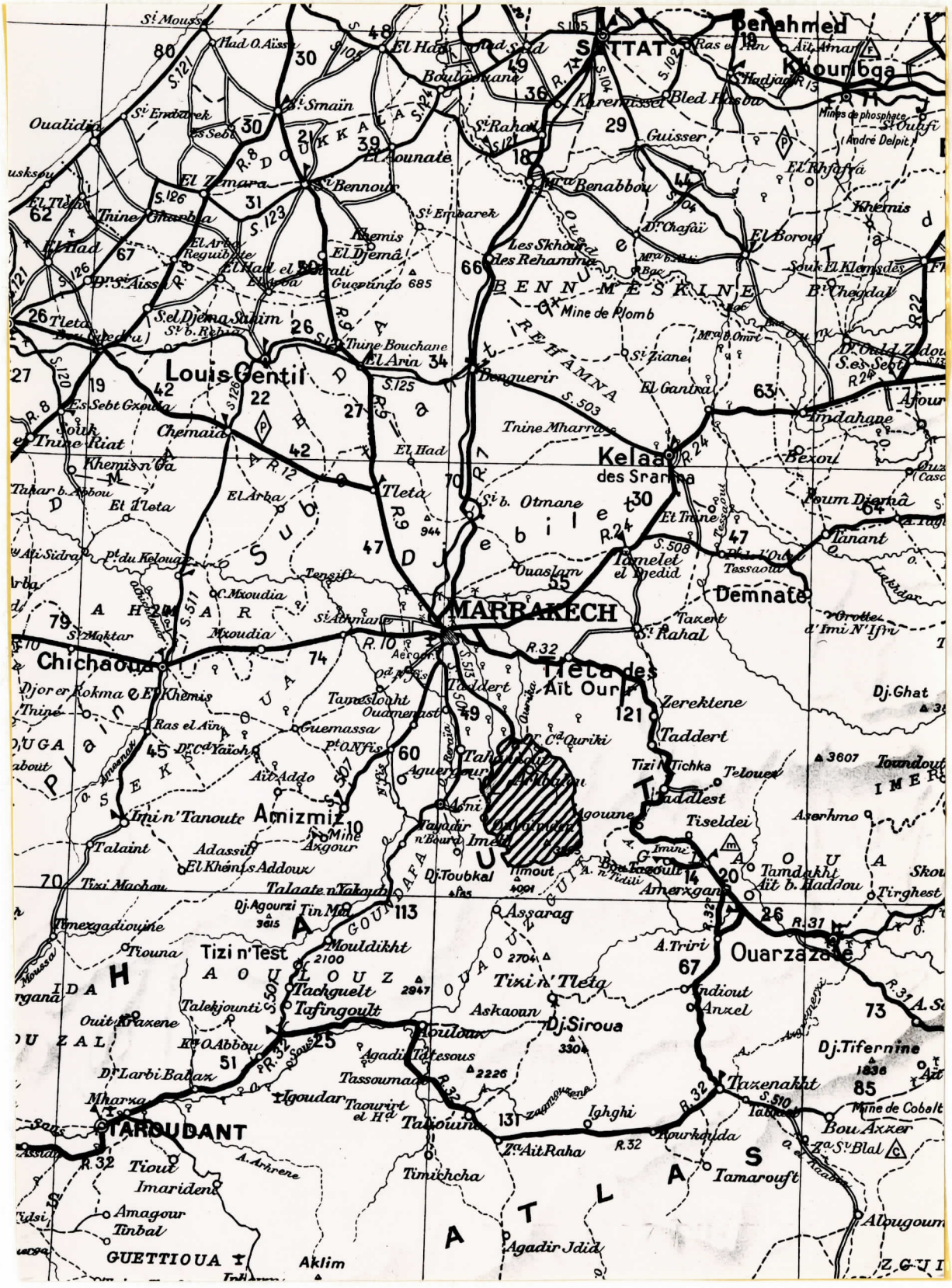
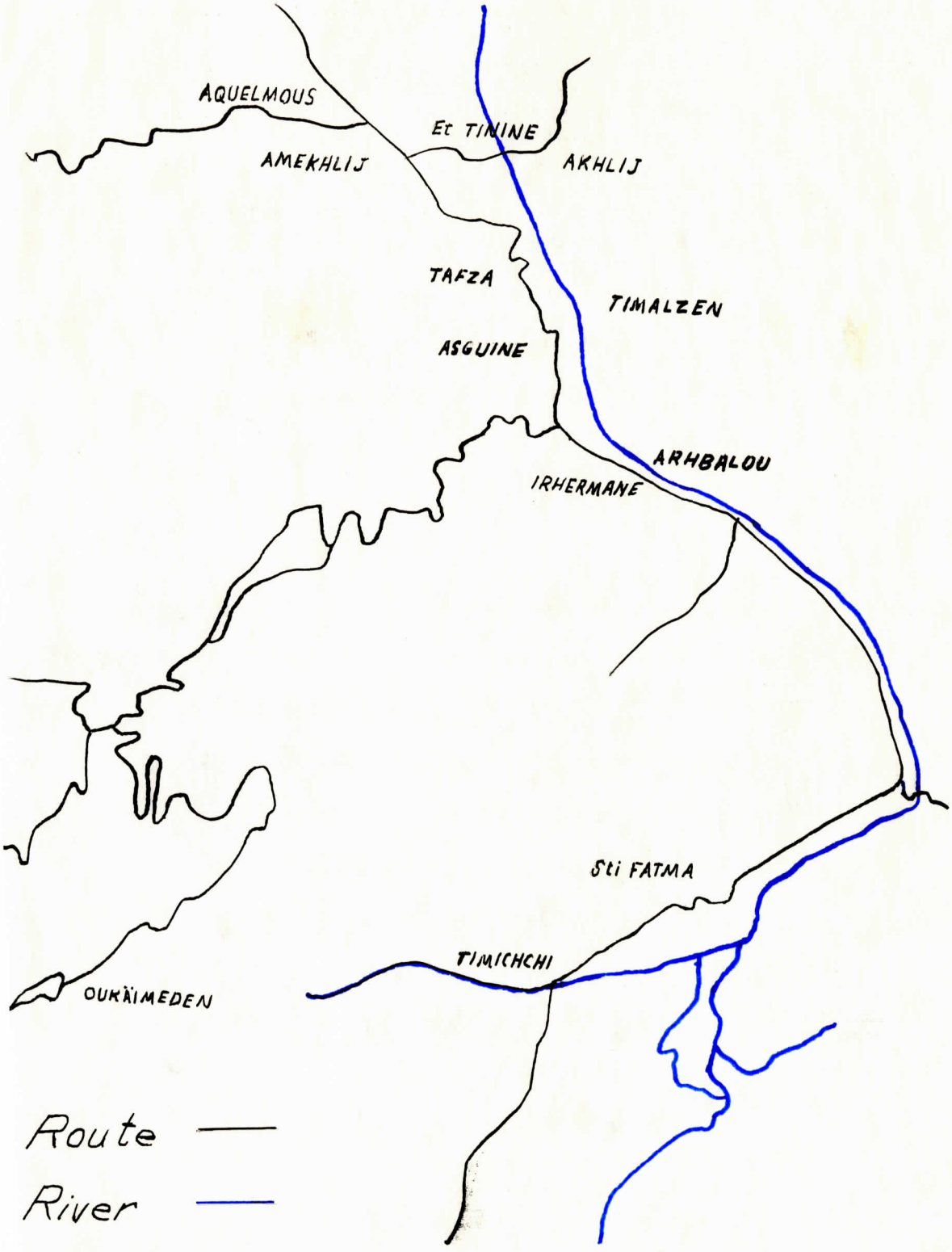

Benahmed
SETTAT
Khouribga
Ras el Ain
Ait Amar
Hadjar
Bled Haseba
Karemissel
Boulaouane
Oualidia
Sl Mousse
Had O.Aïssa
El Had
Sl Smaïn
Sl Embarek
Sl Rahal
Guisser
Mines de phosphate
St Ouafi
André Delpit
El Rhafsa
Sl Bennour
Mra Benabbou
Khemis
Thine Ghazlia
El Arsa
Reguibate
El Had el Gharbia
Les Skhour des Rehamna
D'Chafaï
El Boroui
Souk El Khemis des
Bir Chendal
BENI MESKINE
Mine de Plomb
Mra B.Omri
Sl Ziane
Louis Gentil
Sl b. Rebiat
Thine Bouchane
El Aria
Benguerir
El Gantra
Imdahane
Souk Tnine Riat
Chemaia
Khemis n'Ba
Kelaa des Sraghna
Bexou
Tnine Mharra
El Had
Tleta
Sl b. Otmane
Et Tnine
Tamelet el Medid
Tassaout
Demnate
Tanant
Ouaslam
Tensift
MARRAKECH
Taxert
Sl Rahal
Chichaoua
Mxoudia
Sl Maktar
Sl Abdmalek
Tleta des Ait Ourir
Djor er Rokma
Ras el Ain
Ouamenast
Taddert
Zerektene
Dj.Ghat
Tizi n'Tichka
Telouet
Toundout
Imi n'Tanoute
Anizmiz
Talaint
Adassil
Ait Addo
Aguerd Ouzrou
Tiseldei
Aserhmo
Tamdakht
Ait b. Haddou
Tirghest
Tizi Machou
Dj.Toubkal
Talaate n'Yakoub
Amerzgane
Dj.Agourzi
Tin Mal
Assarag
Ouarzazate
Timezgadiouine
Trouna
Mouldikht
A.Triri
Tizi n'Test
Tizi n'Tleta
Askaoun
Dj.Siroua
Indiout
Anzel
Dj.Tifernine
Tachguelt
Tafingoult
Talekjounti
Moulouz
Agadir Tafesous
Tassoumaz
Igoudar
Taourirt el Had
Taliouine
Ighghi
Tazenakht
Mine de Cobalt
Bou Axxer
TARDUDANT
Mharza
Tioute
Imaridene
Amagour
Tinbal
GUETTIOUA
Aklim
Agadir Jdid
Timitchcha
Za Ait Raha
Tamarouft
Alougoum
ATLAS
ANTI
HAUT
SUB
DJEBILET
REHAMNA
HAHA
HAOUZ
SOUSS
DUKKALA
ABDA
CHAOUIA
OUARDIGHA
TADLA
TAZA
IMER
Z.C.U.I

Figure 6. Map of general area of school district indicating main routes of travel, streams, and some villages.


AQUELMOUS
AMEKHLIJ
Et TININE
AKHLIJ
TAFZA
ASGUINE
TIMALZEN
ARHBALOU
IRHERMANE
Sti FATMA
TIMICHCHI
OUKÄIMEDEN
Route
River

III. AGRICULTURE

The lives of today's Berbers of Ourika consist of primitive activities such as planting field crops, attending fruit trees, and herding sheep and goats--activities which produce the basic necessities of life. Good soil for growing crops is scarce, and irrigation is necessary for the production of crops during the long summer months. The fertile terraced land along the river, the forest lands on the steep slopes, and the pasture lands at the higher elevations make up the tribal domain. Produce, such as fruits, nuts, and fresh vegetables, has increased in the past few years due to the demand by the population of the nearby city of Marrakech.

So important is water for irrigation purposes that control of the water of the Ourika River has led to tribal wars in former years, the last war occurring approximately fifty years ago.[33]

The control of water is subject to strict tribal law. During the dry seasons, water is rationed to the villages by the half-day. During the rainy seasons, this rationing is unnecessary since the quantity of water is sufficient. The large irrigation ditches, including the main branches, are under tribal control, and each recipient of water must furnish his labor in their construction, alteration, and repair. Much labor is expended after the rainy season in repairing the damage caused by wash-outs. Communal labor is also mandatory in repairing terraces if

---

[33]Interview held with Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, February 20, 1962.

more than one member owns a plot of land in adjoining terraced fields.[34] Tilling the soil is done by hand or with a crude plow pulled by donkeys, mules, or cows. Many small terraced plots are cultivated entirely by hand.

As tribesmen turn from the more nomadic life of herding to one in which agriculture and horticulture play a more prominent role, the variety of crops grown chiefly for marketing is becoming greater. Certain of the fleshy root vegetables are eaten by women only since they are believed to produce blood, fat, and soft flesh which are desirable only in women. The following products were found to be under cultivation in the tribe: barley, corn, tomatoes, radishes, turnips, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, carrots, sweet peppers, cabbage, cauliflower, black beans, onions, lettuce, green beans, strawberries, eggplant, pumpkin, squash, garlic, artichokes, and leeks.

As in the Rif, certain wild products growing in the mountains and valleys are gathered and eaten.[35] Among those found and identified were the following: (1) the oak--the acorns are eaten; (2) the arbute, or strawberry tree--its fruit is eaten fresh and also transported to Marrakech in small bamboo baskets for sale; and (3) wild blackberries.

The tribesmen of Ourika, like their northern neighbors of the Rif, take great pride in the cultivation of their fruit and nut trees. They irrigate, prune, fertilize, and do their best to remove insects and

---

[34] Ibid.

[35] Coon, op. cit., pp. 43-49.

parasites from the leaves and branches to insure better crops. They distinguish between the sexes of the trees and also apply a sex taboo upon eating the fruit of walnuts and almonds: walnuts may be eaten by women only; almonds, by men only. This is due to the shrinking and the drying of the walnut, which is considered to have the same effect upon man, whereas almonds are considered to produce potency in men.[36] Both walnuts and almonds are sold as a cash crop.

According to tax receipts, tribal members cultivate ninety thousand olive trees; thirty thousand English walnut trees; fifteen thousand almond trees; ten thousand apple trees; a total of thirty thousand apricot, pomegranate, peach, pear, cherry, fig, and plum trees; and ten thousand citrus trees, including orange, lemon, grapefruit, and tangerine trees.[37]

Citrus fruits are grown only in the lower reaches of the valley. English walnuts are grown along the river and streams. Almonds, which require less water, are grown on the drier slopes. Barley and corn are the chief cereals grown for local consumption.

Sufficient amounts of olives are grown in Ourika, not only to furnish oil for the tribe but also to furnish a cash crop which is sold in Marrakech. Some are sold for preserving and some for oil. The presses are owned by the Committee--a local political unit consisting of the president and representatives elected by tribal members to administer local affairs; the president also represents the tribe in the regional

---

[36] Ibid., pp. 45-47.

[37] Tax records located in the Office of the Caid in Takatert.

administration. Each olive grower is allowed the use of the press for a certain number of days. One-tenth in kind is paid as rent. Olives are crushed by a large stone attached to a shaft and axle which is pulled by a mule around a dish-shaped stone platform. Olives are crushed, then placed in large baskets made of palmetto. The baskets are stacked one on top of the other and pressed by the weight of a large tree trunk which has been jacked up by a wooden screw to permit the placing of the baskets under the trunk. The weight of the tree trunk provides sufficient pressure and causes the oil to run out of the baskets and into a stone-covered pit adjacent to the press. The stone cover is sealed to the top of the pit with olive pulp to prevent mice from eating the oil or from falling into the pit. The baskets of crushed olives are left overnight in the press. This procedure is repeated three times, but premium oil is obtained from the first crushing and pressing; a lower grade of oil is obtained from each successive processing. Olives allowed to remain on the tree until ripe yield larger quantities and a better grade of oil, but it was found that many people harvested their crop early because of economic necessity. The pressing season is from October through March or April. Olives awaiting pressing are stored in a large pit below the entrance room to the olive press. They may be stored in this manner for as long as two years without deterioration.

Figure 7. Farm land in the valley of Ourika. The land has been divided so many times down through the ages that today the average farm is no more than two and one-half acres. Most of these mountain fields are tilled by hand.

Figure 8. Irrigation ditch in small field. These ditches carry water during the drier farming season.

Figure 9. Small terraced fields. These fields, tilled by hand, are bordered by olive, almond, and English walnut trees.

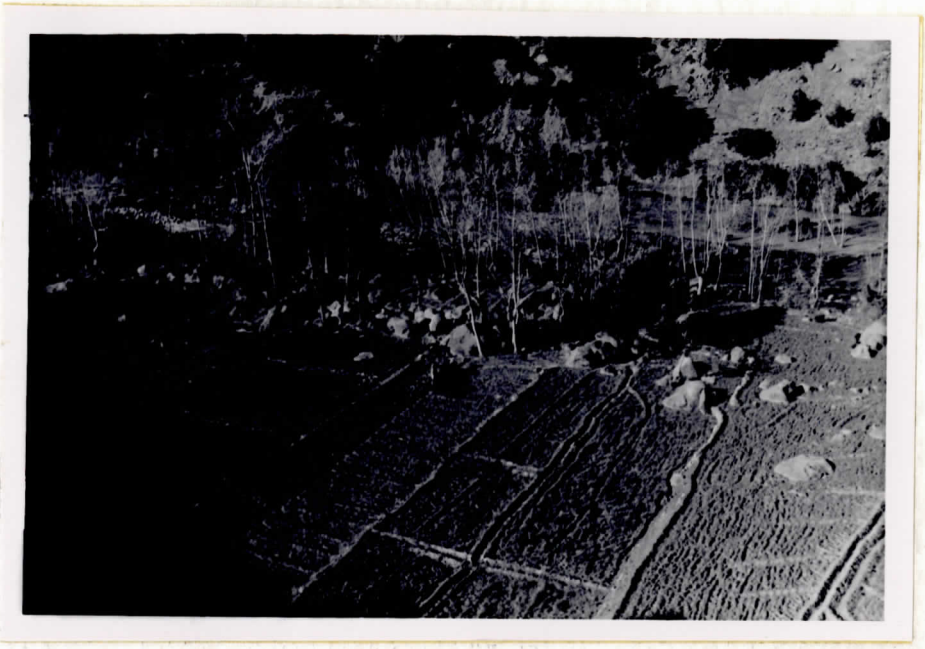


Figure 10. Larger fields along the Ourika River which are cultivated with plows drawn by mules and/or cows. Steep hills limit the amount of such tillable land.

Figure 11. Barley being planted among olive trees. This increases production on the small family plots.

Figure 12. An Ourika plow. The plow has been introduced to work larger fields of the more accessible regions, and herding has been pushed to the higher elevations. Donkeys, mules, and cows are used as draft animals. The plow is regarded by the Berbers as having sacred qualities, and only the plow share is made of metal. It is fashioned from a flat piece of metal hammered over on the edges to form a socket which fits over the main body of the plow. The latter must be made of oak. The long pole by which it is drawn is fitted through the body of the plow at one end and attached to a yoke at the other, and it may be made of oak or cedar.

Figure 13. An aqueduct. Water is brought to the high terraced fields by irrigation ditches or aqueducts which at times span mountain ravines.

Figure 14. Irrigation ditch on high terraced field. Much labor goes into building and maintaining the many miles of irrigation ditches needed to water the high terraced fields.

Figure 15. Bridge built over irrigation ditch. This consists of two main support beams crossed with smaller branches to support stones and a dirt surface.

Figure 16. A fence being mended. A fence is mended in the farming region by cutting and piling thorny brush in the opening. Thus is seen the Berbers' answer to one problem encountered as herding gives way to farming.

Figure 17. Small olive-tree-lined terraces. These are farmed today as they have been for hundreds of years.

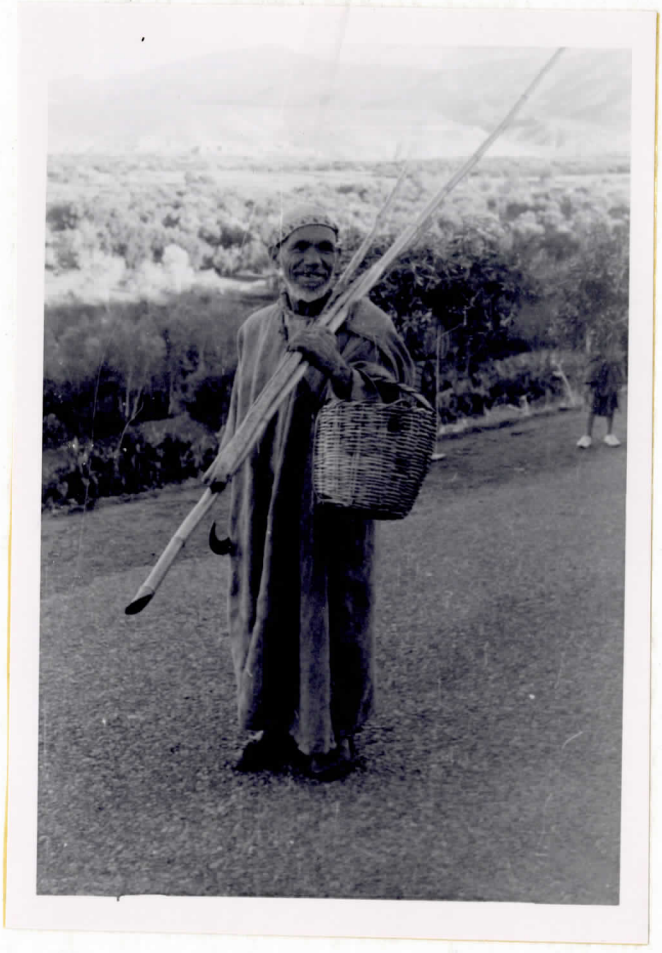


Figure 18. Olive gatherer departing for home after day's work. Bamboo poles are used to shake olives from branches. Women gather olives in large pieces of cloth spread under trees. Most olives are pressed for oil although some are selected and sold to city markets for pickling.

Figure 19. Harvested olives ready to be transported to the olive press.

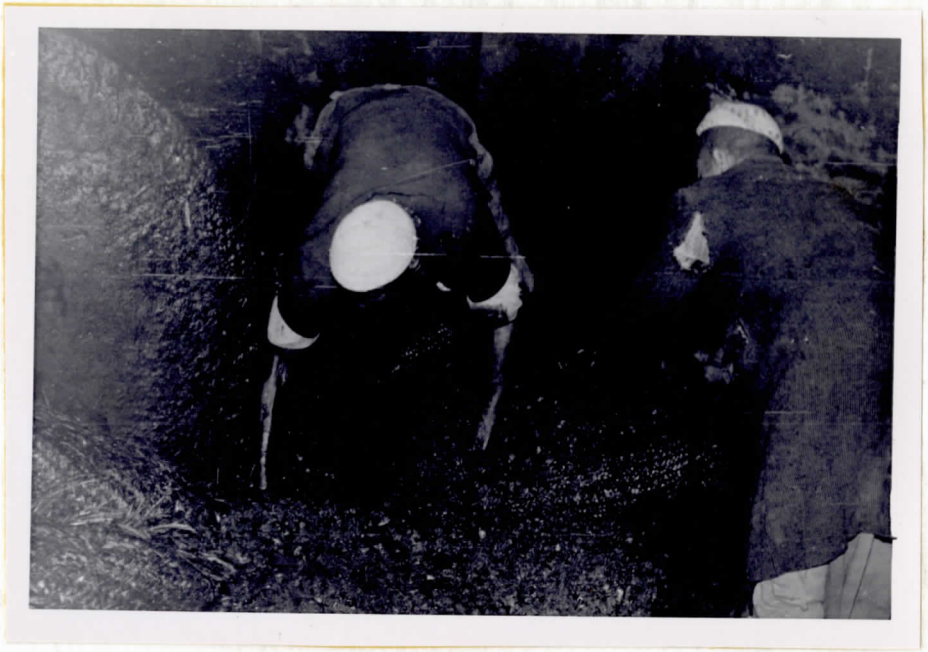


Figure 20. Olives being ground. Grinding stone (left) is turned by mule power. Ground olives are placed in baskets for pressing. The use of the press is controlled by the Committee and based upon the number of trees owned. Proceeds from the sale of olive oil are used to preserve and propagate the Moslem faith, for a set portion must be given the "Fkih," or religious teacher, another portion for the saints, and still another portion for the poor.

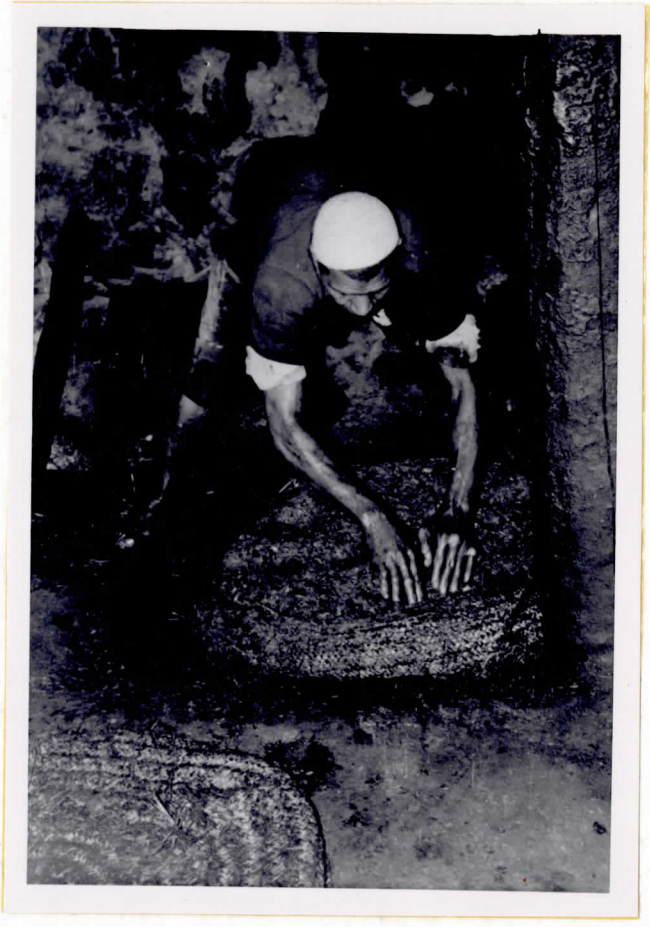


Figure 21. Olives being pressed. Crushed olives are placed in palmetto baskets to be pressed. Oil runs into stone-lined reservoir where oil is separated from water.

Figure 22. Hand-hewn jackscrew operated to raise log used for pressing the oil from the olives. This olive press has been in operation for more than one hundred fifty years.

IV. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Domesticated animals kept by the tribesmen include goats, sheep, cows, mules, chickens, pigeons, cats, dogs, donkeys, and horses. Bees are also kept. Camels are not kept by tribal members as they are by adjacent tribes dwelling on the plains to the west and by most other plains-dwelling people where they are used for draft animals and for food. Camels are not as well adapted for use on the rough mountain trails as are mules.

Tribal members in the valley hire herders to take their sheep and goats to the higher slopes during the summer months. They follow the receding snow and are gone from four to six months. During the night, sheep and goats are kept in crude stone enclosures with an enclosed stone hut to shelter the herdsmen. The diet of the sheep-herder consists chiefly of dried bread made from flour and water. A supply sufficient for the entire summer is prepared in the village before the herder leaves with his flock. This bread is soaked in water, or milk from the herd, and may be supplemented by a meal in a mountain village during a feast day, or a few vegetables may be purchased to add to this very meager diet. Occasionally, a sheep or goat is stolen from the herd to be slaughtered for food although a severe penalty is levied for this offense. Only tribal members may use the pasture lands, and tax payment is made according to the size of the herd. Villagers living above the snow line who own herds pasture them during the winter months in the lower tribal pastures. Cows are not kept in large herds but are attended by women of the family who graze them along the edges of fields and

terraces and who gather, for extra forage, large amounts of grass and weeds along the irrigation ditches, streams, and edges of planted fields. Mules, used chiefly for transportation, are bought for this purpose or to be fattened for resale to the people of the lowlands who breed them. Donkeys are found chiefly in the lower elevations of the tribe and are used for plowing, for transportation, and for turning the olive presses. Horses are owned by the more wealthy tribesmen and are kept only for riding. Dogs are kept to serve as sentries for the households of the village. Cats, as elsewhere, are kept as pets. Chickens are kept by most families and are considered a treat as food for special festive occasions. Pigeons are raised for food chiefly in the lower elevations of the tribe. Bees are also kept to provide the people with honey.[38]

V. HUNTING

The only wild animals observed being hunted by members of the tribe were the rabbit, hedgehog, partridge, fox, and wild boar. The rabbit, hedgehog, and partridge furnish a supply of meat for the diet, but Islam forbids the eating of the wild boar. Skins of the foxes are sold.[39]

---

[38] Interview held with Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, October 21, 1961.

[39] Ibid.

VI. APICULTURE

Apiculture is common in the lower elevations of the tribe. Many families own one or more hives but put them under the care of a bee expert who cares for them for a predetermined amount of honey. A small bamboo basket which is open on both ends is placed open end against the wall of the inside of the house, usually in the loft. A small opening is dug through the wall and a metal disc with three or four holes for bees to enter is set over the hole. The basket is then plastered with cow dung and allowed to dry. The bees are placed inside and the open end is sealed.[40]

VII. POTTERY MAKING

Pottery is made by the wheel method only. The inhabitants of two villages, Tafza and Agonzan, are engaged in pottery making for the entire tribe. There were twenty-five pottery wheels and five pottery kilns in Tafza, and all of the men there were engaged in pottery making. All pottery is made from red clay which is very hard and can be formed to make very thin pans for baking bread on an open fire.

The dry clay is crushed by pounding it with a heavy wooden paddle. The crushed clay is then sifted in a fine sieve and mixed with powder which is crushed from stones and serves to harden the pottery. After the powdered clay and tempering material have been thoroughly mixed, water is added and the whole is kneaded until it reaches the proper consistency.

---

[40] Ibid.

The potter places a piece of clay of the desired size on the wheel, which is turned by foot power, and shapes the pottery almost entirely with the hand. Some small pieces of wood may be used to obtain some final detail. A string is used to cut the shaped pottery from the wheel. The potter is able to form from twenty to twenty-five large pieces each day. Pottery is allowed to dry in the sun for three days prior to firing in the kiln. The kiln is made of mud and stones, plastered with mud on the inside, and is about six feet across and four and one-half feet deep. Shards of old pots are used to cover the kiln and hold the heat in. Brush is used to fire the kiln. The pottery is cylindrical in shape, red in color, and has very little design.

There is no attempt to manufacture more pottery than can be sold at the day's souk, or market. Pottery is fired the day before being taken to market to be sold.[41]

---

[41] Interview held with pottery workers of Tafsa and Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, November 10, 1961.

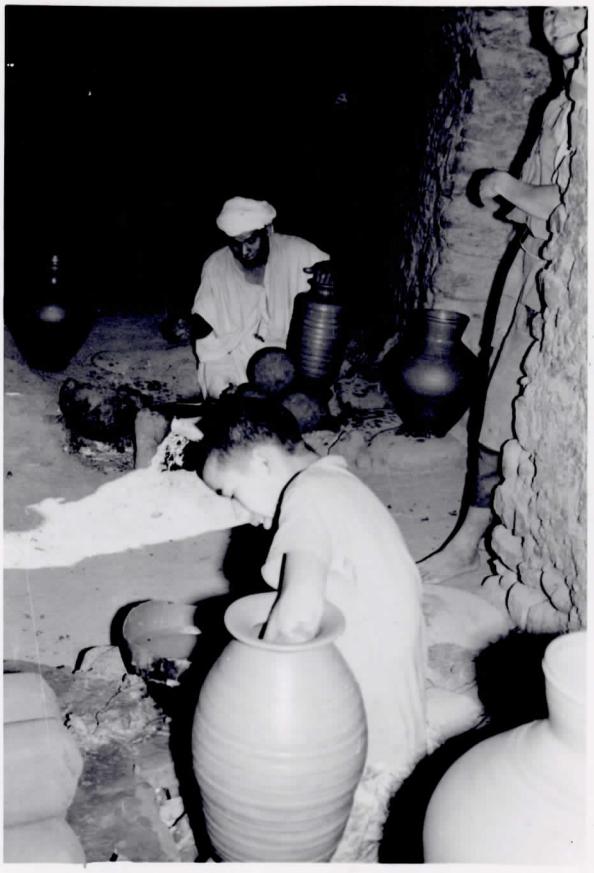


Figure 23. The making of pottery. Potters' wheels are located in pits below the pottery workers and are operated by the kick method. Pottery making, as a craft, is handed down from father to son. Clay ready for turning is stacked in left foreground. The entire village of Tafza, comprising twenty-five families, is engaged in pottery making.

Figure 24. A potter trimming excess clay from round bottom of "kedra" prior to baking it in sun.

Figure 25. Pottery placed in sun to dry prior to firing.

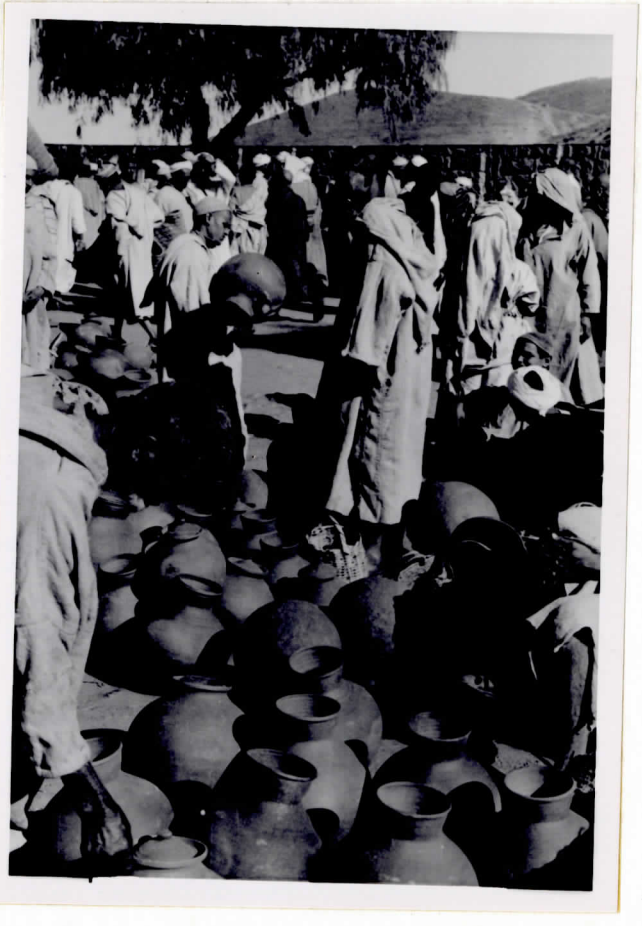


Figure 26. A potter displaying wares for sale in Monday market. Vigorous bargaining is traditional. Transport to market is by mule.

VIII. BASKETRY AND SKIN CONTAINERS

Basketry. There are three types of basket making employed in Ourika: wickerwork, coiling, and twilling.

Wickerwork of split bamboo for both the uprights, or warp, and the woof, which is woven in and out among the uprights, is made in the area along the river where bamboo is grown. These baskets are used for transporting chickens to market, for the central framework for beehives, for storing grain, as well as for transporting fruits or vegetables to market and elsewhere. Common shopping baskets are also made from split bamboo.

Coil baskets are made with a bundle of swamp grass or split palmetto stems as the rod and with palmetto leaves for the wrapper. This rod is coiled, wrapped, and knitted together by the palmetto fiber to form circular baskets. These baskets are used chiefly for working with flour and for making bread and "cous cous," a cereal served with lamb, carrots, or turnips.

Twilling is employed in the manufacture of pack-saddle baskets from palmetto fibers.[42]

Skin containers. Goat skins are used to hold many liquids, especially olive oil. The skins are turned with the hair on the inside and the openings tied with a cord made from palmetto fronds.[43]

---

[42] Interview held with basketworkers of Arhbalou and Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, October 24, 1961.

[43] Interview held with oil vendor and Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, in Monday market in Takatert on January 7, 1963.

Figure 27. Large bamboo baskets. These baskets are plastered with mud, filled with grain, and sealed over the top to serve as convenient grain-storage bins. A small opening may be cut near the bottom to remove grain as needed.[44]

---

[44]Interview with Mohammed Hassan of the village of Takatert, October 18, 1961.

Figure 28. Chickens being transported to market in bamboo baskets.

IX. SPINNING AND WEAVING

Sheep wool and goat hair are used for spinning yarn for making the "jellaba" (the traditional outer garment worn by the Arabs), blankets, some rugs, and certain other garments fro men and women. The wool is first washed in a solution made from the stems and blossom of a certain plant grown on the plains area outside the tribe and purchased in the local market. The wool is then carded and spun by women in their spare time on a distaff and whorl. The women then weave the cloth for blankets and garments. All girls are taught spinning and weaving as this skill is considered a basic asset of a prospective bride.[45] Rug making was found only in villages at the lower elevations.

---

[45] Interview held with Mrs. Mohammed Hassan of the village of Takatert, October 13, 1961.

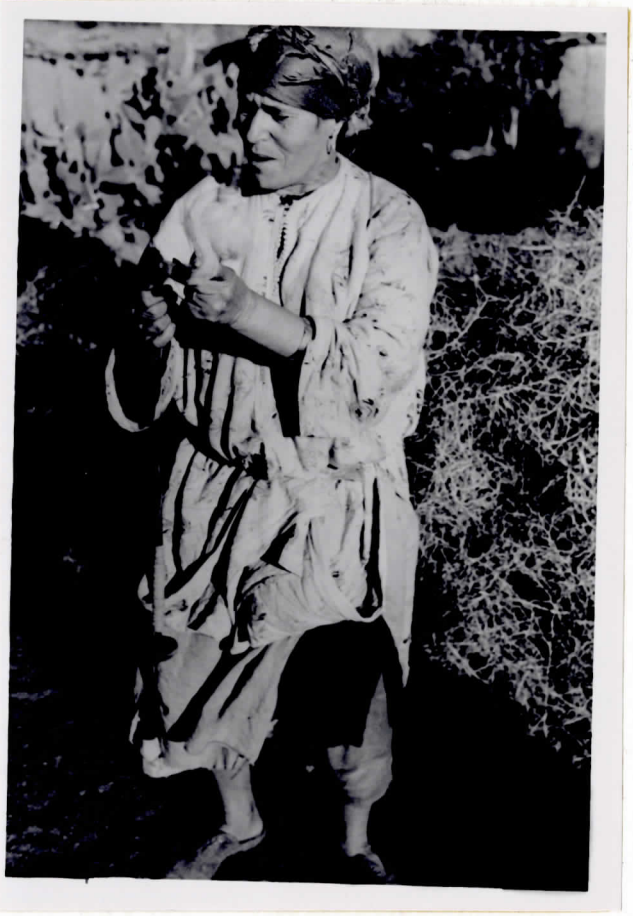


Figure 29. Woman spinning wool yarn with distaff and whorl.

Figure 30. Goat-skin bellows used in forging iron at "Souk Etnine." This bellows is operated by a Negro youth who belongs to itinerate iron-workers.

Figure 31. Iron tools are heated and hammered to repair them.

Figure 32. Hand-forged tools displayed for sale. Ploughshares (at left above) and picks (center) used in terracing and making irrigation ditches indicate change from nomadic to farming culture.

Figure 33. Hand-forged sickles and unhafted brush axes forged for sale in the market. Sickles are used by women in the never-ending search for and gathering of grass for fuel, for cooking, and for feeding cows.

Figure 34. Knives used in butchering, which is also done by blacksmiths, are sharpened with grindstone made of sandstone in preparation for day's work.

X. WOODWORKING

At one time, the making of wood products was a major industry of the tribesmen living in the forest regions of Ourika. Today, however, the government has established a state forest in the chief areas of the former tribal forest area in order to set up a system of reforestation and control. In former times, the forest was exploited, with no plan for replacement.

Woodcutters today, therefore, are hampered in their pursuit of a livelihood because of these recent restrictions on the use of the forest. Recently learned and instituted methods of establishing and caring for the forest areas have almost completely cut off the wood supply for the makers of wooden bowls and spoons. At the time of the establishment of state forest areas under the French Protectorate, the forest was practically depleted. Local tribal dissatisfaction exists because the mountain woodworkers are not allowed to harvest trees without proper replacement. Government-imposed law requires that five trees be planted for every tree harvested. A number of men in two villages were found to be still engaged in making wood products.

Woodcraft is an art passed on from father to son, with the eldest of the household serving as chief of the craftsmen. Four generations were found to be actively engaged in forest product craftsmanship. The chief of one village indicated that his ancestors had for nineteen generations resided in the region and been engaged in making wood products. Wood products produced by the tribesmen are used chiefly by members of

the tribe, but some products not needed locally are sold in the markets of other tribes of the region and in the large "souk" of Marrakech.

Large walnut bowls, the size determined by the diameter of the tree, are hand hewn to general bowl shape before final shaping on a unique lathe operated by foot power. A tough elastic branch of wood serves to alternate the direction for cutting to be done on the basic foot-power stroke. Rope used for rotating the lathe is made of plaited palmetto fronds. Large bowls are used chiefly in the making of bread and in the preparation of other foods.

Finished wood products include wooden bowls made chiefly from the English walnut. One bowl located in the village had a diameter of 30 inches and was said to be over one hundred years old. Pottery wheels are also made of wood. Deep bowls are hewn in many sizes with or without a handle and are used as containers for milk, honey, butter, and other goods. They also serve as a mortar for grinding, mashing, or mixing foods, medicines, magic formulas, and cosmetics. A strong stick serves as the pestle.

Wooden spoons are hewn in one piece. Small ones are sometimes used for eating soups. Since most foods are eaten with the fingers only, very few other utensils are needed. Larger spoons, some as large as six inches in diameter with a handle as long as three feet, are used in cooking. Each family possesses eight to twelve wooden spoons.[46]

---

[46]Interview held with the Chief of Woodcutters and Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, April 22, 1962.

Figure 35. Large wooden bowl. This bowl measured 30 inches in diameter and was reputed to be one hundred years old. Spoons are made from a single piece of wood.

Figure 36. A roughly hewn bowl being measured to determine center for attachment of lathe shaft. English walnut wood is generally used to make bowls. The tribal committee requires that five trees be planted for each one cut to insure a future wood crop. Since walnuts serve as food and are a cash crop, there is continued frustration between woodworkers and farmers.

Figure 37. Some basic tools used by the village woodworkers in finishing wooden bowls on primitive wood lathe. The wooden mallet is used to attach the lathe shaft to bowls for finishing. The compass is used to determine the center of the bowl.

Figure 38. A chief of village woodworkers attaching the lathe shaft to an unfinished bowl. His son, grandson, and great-grandson engage in this craft, as have his ancestors for nineteen generations.

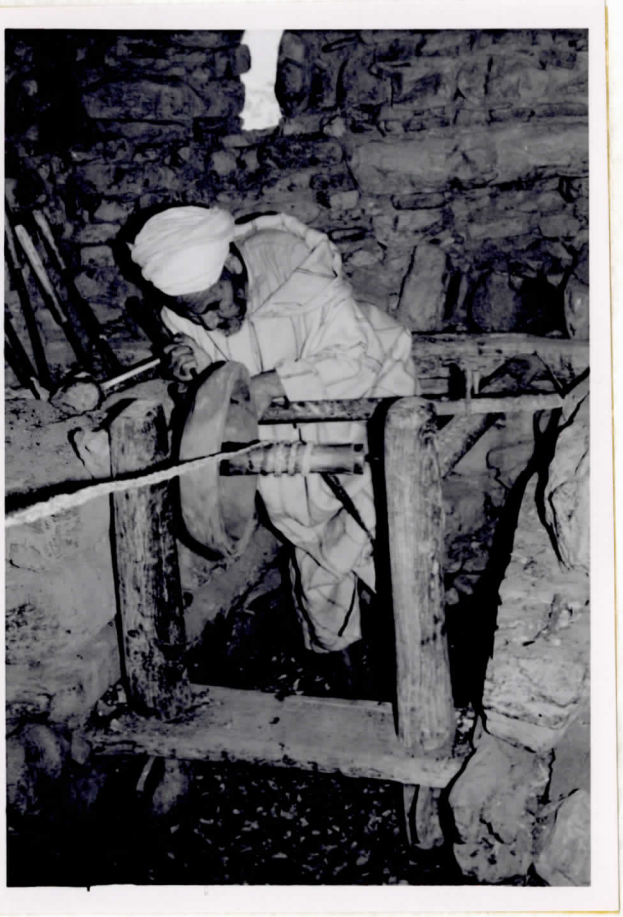


Figure 39. A woodshop. This woodshop consists of a single lathe and a wooden bench. Rough hewing is done on the dirt floor. A tea-kettle of water is kept hot over the brazier for the preparation of many cups of sweet mint tea consumed in the course of a day's work. Lunch consists of mint tea and bread. A plaited cord of palmetto is attached to the upper end of the supple branch at the left which furnishes power, alternating with basic foot power.

Figure 40. Foot stirrup used to power lathe.

Figure 41. A bowl being turned and shaped by an ancient method. The lathe is adjusted by pegs and wedges to accommodate various size bowls.

XI. PALMETTO INDUSTRY

The only externally organized industry in the tribe is the plant for making padding for furniture from palmetto fronds gathered in the region. The factory is located near "Souk Etnine" and employs one hundred twenty persons. Factory work consists chiefly of drying, shredding, twisting into rope-like lengths, and baling the material for shipment. Completed bales are disinfacted and shipped to England, France, and Germany.

Wages of three-tenths of a cent to four-tenths of a cent per pound are paid, with each man producing from one hundred twenty to one hundred sixty pounds per day. Work is seasonal, and production runs about fifty tons per month.

Cutting and transporting the raw "doum," or palmetto, to the factory supplements the income of many families. The palmetto is cut with a small sickle and is transported on mule back. The raw material is sold to the factory by the kilogram, the price being determined by the length of the fronds.[47]

XII. HOMES OF STUDENTS

Homes occupied by the tribesmen are all of a permanent nature and nearly always built around an open courtyard. The enclosure consists of single rooms opening into the courtyard, which is surrounded by high

---

[47] Interview held with factory manager and Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, December 18, 1961.

walls. Many homes also have rooms built on a second story. One or more homes form a village, or "douar." A home may consist of one room for the family and one room for the animals, or it may contain several rooms to house three or four generations. In general, rooms are added as children are married. The home serves as a shelter and enclosure for man as well as for his animals.

Some homes in a village have a high tower-like structure rising above the rest of the village. The top story may be used as a special guest room. The architecture seems to come from the casbah country of the Draa and Dades where this higher structure served as a lookout and a defense against the warring tribes.[48] The general structure of the village serves as a protective enclosure for all personal belongings as well as a place of seclusion for the women as they work in the home during the day.

Materials for the construction of the walls of the dwellings are generally of three kinds: moist earth tamped into a form section by section, adobe bricks containing straw, and stones. Mud is used for mortar when mud bricks or stones are used. Materials of all three types may be found in the structures in one housing compound.

A second story over the room for animals serves as a loft for the storage of fodder, firewood, or gathered crops. Beehives are also located in the loft. Any second-story room is always entered from an outside stairway.

---

[48]Interview held with Moulay Abdallah, Caid of Ourika, August 20, 1962.

Arrangement for a dwelling seems to be based upon expediency and necessity with very little planning. A need can be seen for a wall to be constructed vertically and for a roof to be flat, but the walls need not be at right angles and the floor need be only approximately level.

The roof structure is the same for all types of walls and consists of beams made of roughly hewn timber, with joists made of small poles or timbers which support a layer of small branches, twigs, or bamboo upon which is placed a two-or-three-inch layer of dampened earth which, when tamped, serves as a roof or the floor of a second story if a two-story structure is desired. To support this floor or roof, the more wealthy Berbers may use cedar wood.

Drainage from the roof or second-story floor is secured by a V-shaped trough hewn from a small tree limb. This trough serves to convey rain water off the roof or to get rid of waste water from the floor of the second story so that erosion of the walls may be prevented. At least once each year, around October, and prior to the fall rains, each roof must be repaired by placing new twigs and leaves where needed and adding a new layer of mud.

Many windows are mere peepholes; others are small, and usually there is only one to a room. Most windows have no means of closure except in the homes of families of some means. A lintel made of natural or hewn timber is used for support above the doors or windows. The door is made of hewn boards nailed to a rough frame by large hand-forged nails. The door is hung by placing the projecting door framework, left for this purpose, into a hole in the lintel on top and into a depression

cut in a stone at the bottom. A door handle may be made of iron forged at the local "souk," and it consists of a ring or large decorated washer with a shaft running through the door and spread cotter-pin-fashion through a washer on the inner side. A door knocker made of iron with some artistic design is found on some doors. A small area around many windows is plastered and whitewashed. In some homes, the window openings are covered with an iron grill-work which is manufactured in the "souk."

The family room is rectangular in shape and serves as a guest room, a dining room, and a bedroom. If the family is prosperous, couches will be fitted on three sides of the room and a rug will be placed in the center between the couches.

The bathroom, always a separate room constructed in the courtyard of mud or stones, will accommodate one person in a sitting position. A small firebox is built beneath the room to give some warmth in cold weather. The opening may be fitted with a door, left open, or covered with the remnant of a blanket.

Rooms used for food preparation generally have no windows, and the smoke from the cooking units escapes through small slits in the walls. Occasionally, a smoke hole is constructed in the roof. There are no chimneys and, as a result, the room is black with soot and very dark. The floor is always made of earth. A small niche in the wall serves as a storage space for spices and condiments. There are usually two cooking units, which consist of circular mud walls with an opening on top, over which the cooking utensils are placed. There is also an opening on one side which is used for firing. The smoke escapes wherever possible around the cooking utensils.

Much of the household work is done out of doors. Cooking units, including an oven, are constructed in the open courtyard. Ovens are dome shaped, with an earthen shelf constructed adjacent to the fire box for bread baking. Smoke escapes through a small hole at the top. The fire is fed with small twigs pushed through an opening at the front. The oven sometimes doubles as a chicken roost when not needed for baking.

Figure 42. A Berber village which clings to steep hillside. Houses are more widely separated than is the usual custom.

Figure 43. A Berber village. The mud village blends well with the barren ridge. Houses are brown, yellow, or red, according to the color of the socal soil.

Figure 44. Home of the local "sheikh," or chief.

Figure 45. A stone house. Stones are laid with a small amount of mud to form this more durable type of house.

Figure 46. A Berber towering stone structure. This structure is quite similar to the towers built for protection against the desert warriors in the casbah country south of the Atlas Mountains and bordering the Sahara Desert. Heavy seasonal rains cause damage which requires frequent repair.

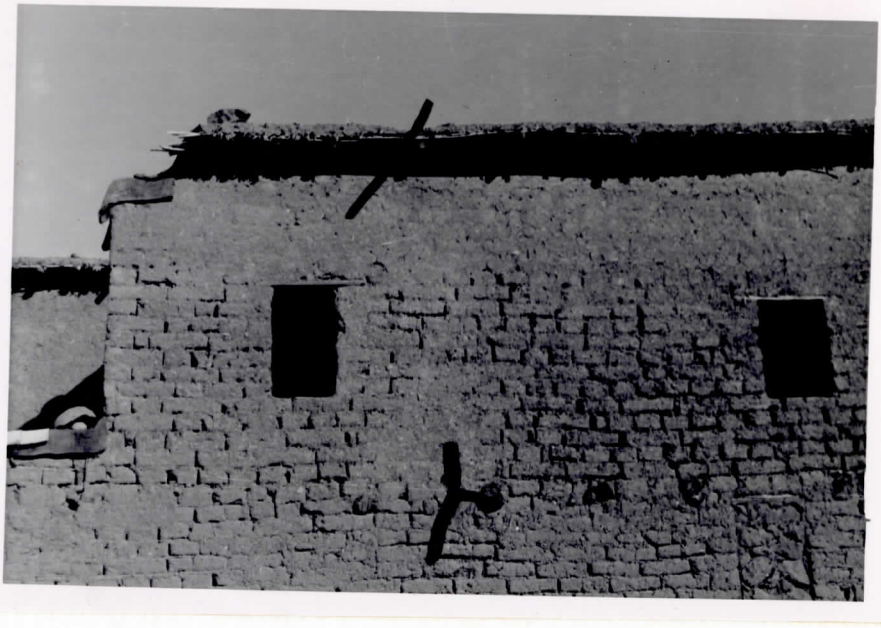


Figure 47. A house constructed of mud bricks. Mud bricks are used for construction chiefly in the valley region.

Figure 48. A Berber two-story house. The roof of the first story is used as a work area by the women. It is convenient for drying clothes, corn, walnuts, and crops of various kinds.

Figure 49. A Berber house in its earliest stages of construction. A basket is filled with earth to pour into the form for the wall of a pressed mud house. Notice the hoe that is used to loosen the dirt.

Figure 50. The walls of a house under construction. Dirt is poured into a sectional form, dampened and tamped, to make the walls.

Figure 51. Crude wooden tools used for packing and troweling mud.

Figure 52. A Berber arch. The true arch is unknown in Berber architecture in Ourika.

Figure 53. Basic roof construction shown in a flour mill.

Figure 54. A grooved water spout. These water spouts are necessary to keep water from eroding the soft mud walls.

Figure 55. Iron knocker and door handle. The decorated iron knocker (right) and the door handle (left) are made by village blacksmiths. Large round-headed nails serve a functional and decorative purpose.

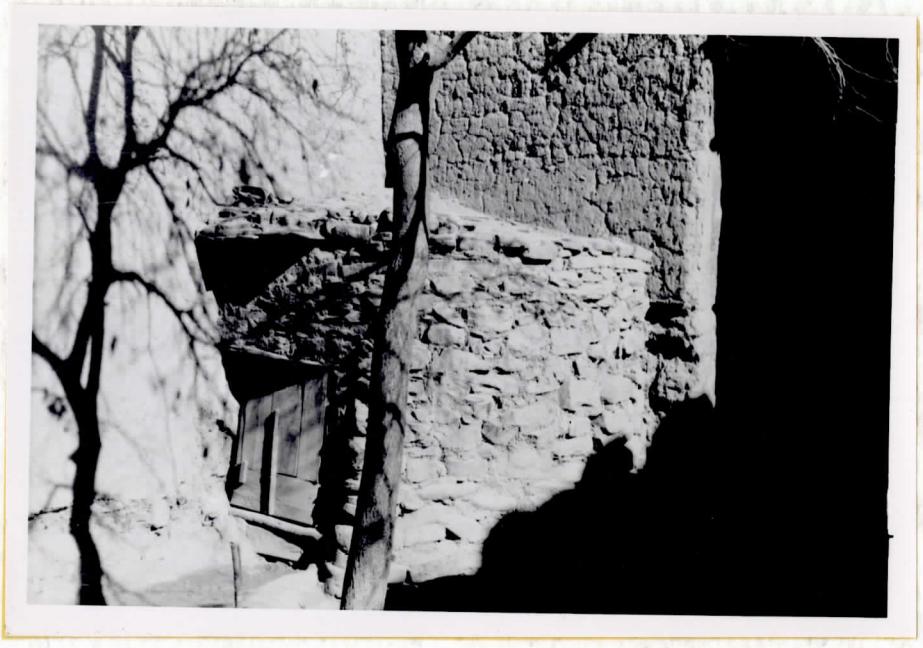


Figure 56. A Berber bathroom. The bathroom is separated from the remainder of the house. Bathing serves as a religious rite as well as for hygenic purposes.

XIII. FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

Food choice, preparation, and consumption by tribal members is subject to the custom prescribed by Islam, the religious brotherhoods, myth, and tradition.[49] The diet is chiefly vegetarian because of economic necessity. Although the variety of food is limited and the amount is marginal in much of the tribe, members appear in general to enjoy good health. Certain foods are prescribed according to sex, with special emphasis placed on a woman's fertility and a man's virility. Almonds may be eaten by men but not by women. Nutmeg is used to flavor milk and coffee and for seasoning other foods. During festive occasions, it is used in large amounts as a stimulant which aids in the many hours of festive dancing.

Breakfast consists of soup made of barley or corn with a little salt added. More prosperous families add a small amount of milk or olive oil and pepper.

The noon meal consists of bread and, if available, warmed olive oil with spices added. The bread may be baked in a closed oven, but the ordinary method is to bake it in an open, dry, clay pan. Twigs, leaves, straw, dried weeds, or dried olive pits left over from the olive press may be used as fuel. The preparation of bread is the same for either baking or cooking. If bread is baked, it is not baked more than once or twice each week. Ovens are always built out of doors. Bread is prepared

---

[49]Interview held with Yousef Abdermane, Director of the Regional Koranic School, April 15, 1963.

from barley, wheat, corn, or a mixture which, for each baking, is freshly ground at the mill or in the home. Yeast is kept by holding over a bit of dough from the previous day's baking and mixing this with warm water to begin the bread-making process. Salt and flour are then added, and the mixture is worked into dough. Loaves are then formed in flat oval discs and covered with a cloth. After rising, the bread is baked at about eleven o'clock. Billows of smoke rise from each village as bread is being baked for the day. In the High Atlas range, an especially fragrant aroma is noted when cedar twigs are used. Bread is considered a sacred trust, and not a crumb is wasted. If a piece falls to the ground, it is picked up and kissed; "bismillah," "in the Name of God," is pronounced; and the crumb is eaten or placed on a ledge or in a tree for a passerby to eat.[50]

The chief diet for the evening meal consists of corn or barley soup. Mint tea is generally served with all meals and is prepared with mint, a small amount of green tea, and generous amounts of rock sugar, which is sold in two-kilogram, or four-pound, cones.

During special religious holidays, a sheep is slaughtered by each family if possible. It is the custom to share this feast with the poor in the community. During feast days, a variety of foods may be served; but tribal members do not prepare the exotic Arab dishes which are so well known in the Arab world. Mutton, beef, and goat meat, however, are stewed with tomatoes, carrots, onions, and turnips, with spices added.

---

[50]Interview held with Rkia Bent Omar of the village of Asni, October 18, 1962.

Chicken is roasted in olive oil with olives, lemon, or almonds added. "Tagula" is prepared by boiling shelled corn and serving it with generous amounts of butter and honey added. Brochettes are commonly prepared over charcoal. "Cous cous," a cereal served with lamb, carrots, or turnips, is a favorite dish served when a large number of guests are present.[51]

Flour mills are located throughout the valley and are operated by water power. They are owned by the tribe and are contracted to the highest bidder once each year on a special "souk" day. Flour is ground for one-tenth in kind.[52] Water from a flume falls onto a wooden turbine to furnish power. The lower end of the turbine shaft is filled with a pointed piece of steel which turns in a small depression made in a flat piece of steel which is attached to a large hewn timber for support. The top of the shaft passes through the lower stationary mill rock and is fitted with a steel device which is embedded in the top movable stone. Vibrations caused by a piece of wood running over the rough stone cause the grain to flow from a bag which is made of palmetto fronds and supported from the roof. The flour falls into a stone bin at the front of the mill rocks. The speed of the grinding is controlled by a pole to which is attached a wide board used to deflect water from the turbine.

"Kief," a narcotic, comes from "cannabis indicus," a hemp; and, when mixed with tobacco, it is smoked in small clay bowls attached to a

---

[51]Interview held with Rkia Bent Omar of the village of Asni, September 5, 1961.

[52]Interview held with the village miller located at the Monday market, May 10, 1962.

hollow stem. The plant is not grown in the tribe but is readily available. At the time of the study, a pound sold for $4. "Hashish" is made by boiling leaves of hemp and is used to make a paste which is eaten by both men and women. It is said that at special celebrations "hashish" is placed in food and given to the young women so that they may be more easily seduced. The men enjoy telling stories of how they have used "hashish" to trick the girls into wild sexual orgies.[53]

Salt, the only mineral produced, is obtained in sufficient amounts for use by the tribe, with excess amounts being exported to the town and surrounding regions.[54]

Butchering is done according to the tenants of Islam, which includes facing the animal toward Mecca and cutting the throat with one forward slash of the knife. Sheepskin is inflated before flaying. Butchers, who are also blacksmiths, are subject to social restrictions. The trade is reserved for the Negro. The meat of the ram brings a much higher price than that of the ewe. Many men will not eat the meat of an ewe because it is believed that semen is absorbed into the meat of the female and, therefore, is unwholesome for male consumption.[55]

---

[53] Interview held with a "kief" peddler in the tribe, December 1, 1962.

[54] Interview held with salt merchants and Moulay Abdallah, Caid of Ourika, September 21, 1961.

[55] Interview held with Yousef Abdermane, Director of Regional Koranic School, Ben Guerir, April 15, 1963.

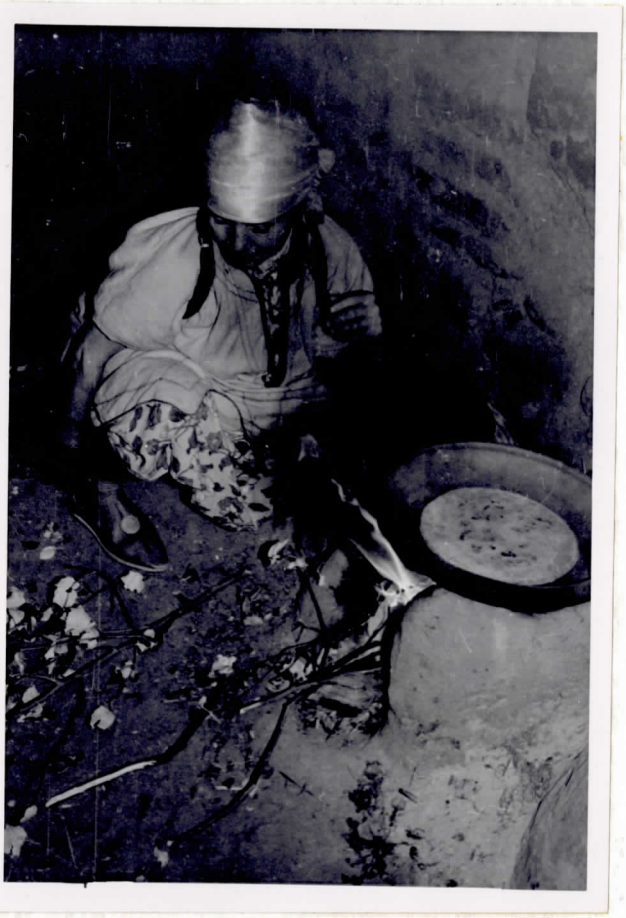


Figure 57. A Berber woman baking bread, the chief food for the noon meal.

Figure 58. Water being heated for tea. Typical units for cooking are made of mud, with an opening at the top over which cooking utensils are placed and a second opening on one side for firing. Women work seated on mats placed on the dirt floor. Corn or barley soup for the morning or evening meal is made in a pot such as the one shown in the foreground.

Figure 59. A clay brazier being fired by charcoal. The heat is quickened by the use of a goatskin bellows. Brochettes are also cooked over charcoal.

Figure 60. Wooden spoons used in cooking and for eating soup. When not in use, these spoons are hung on a wooden peg driven into the mud wall.

Figure 61. Water jars. These jars, placed in a kitchen corner, are covered with fiber lids. Evaporation through porous clay sides keeps the water cool. Some cheap porcelain utensils are being sold by interprising Berber or Arab merchants. Cooking and serving utensils are washed with lemon juice, clay, and water in the area where citrus is grown and with clay and water, only, in other villages.

Figure 62. A mud oven. Mud ovens are used to roast a whole sheep for feasts or for sale in the "souks." The meat is hung over hot coals, and a stone is placed over the top. The oven is then sealed with cow dung. Mutton cooked in this manner is very savory.

Figure 63. Inside a flour mill. Much of the tribal milling is done in water-powered mills located throughout the river valley. The contract for the year's operation goes to the highest bidder, and toll is taken in money or in kind.

Figure 64. A Berber tribesman smoking "kief." "Kief" is smoked in small clay bowls attached to hollow reed.

Figure 65. A butchered sheep being inflated.

Figure 66. A butchered cow being flayed, after having been inflated.

Figure 67. A butchered cow being displayed for sale. After the animal has been flayed and skinned, the blood washed from the throat, and, in some cases, the carcass quartered, it is returned to the owner, who hangs it in the shop on a tripod or on a tree, where it is displayed for sale on "souk" day. Many dogs from the region come to enjoy the "festivities" of the slaughtering. They lap up the blood and snatch entrails or other morsels of meat.

Figure 68. Butchered cows ready for sale locally. Many families of the tribe consider it a treat to serve a meat dish on market day, which is held once each week. In the more remote areas, meat may not be served as often.

Figure 69. A Berber tribesman purchasing meat. A small amount of meat is purchased to supplement the basically vegetarian diet. All produce is freely handled and inspected, and the price is agreed upon before purchase.

XIV. THE MARKET IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

The "souk," or market, is one of the most important economic, political, and social institutions of the tribe. Its importance is increasing as members find a growing market for their crops and livestock. All "souks" are named for the day of the week on which the market is held. No market is held on Friday because of special prayers required by Islam on that day. The chief "souk" of Ourika is held on "Etnine," or Monday. The market serves as the focal point for inter-tribal as well as extra-tribal trade.

The chief imports from outside Morocco are sugar, green tea, coffee, black peppers, nutmeg, and saffron. Imports coming chiefly from other areas of Morocco are cumin, jewelry, shoes, teapots, brass and copper trays, drinking glasses, knives, men's purses, some soap, colorful cotton cloth of poor quality, and clothing.[56]

At each Monday market, approximately three hundred sheep, two hundred goats, two hundred cows, eight hundred chickens, and fifty mules are sold to buyers from outside the tribe.[57]

---

[56] Interview held with Moulay Abdallah, Caid of Ourika, June 20, 1962.

[57] Tax records located in the Office of the Caid in Takatert.

Figure 70. "Souk," or market, day. Generally, the head of each household comes each week to the market center.

Figure 71. Mules resting at the "souk." The mule is the chief means of transport to the Monday market, or "Souk Etnine," near the village of Akhlij. Mules are so accustomed to traveling to the "souk" that, if they are turned loose, they will find their own way to the market or, on the return trip, to their own village. Mountain mule trails are often mere foot trails. At times, the rider of a mule or donkey may doze for several hours en route to the "souk" without giving any direction whatever to the animal.[58]

---

[58] Interview held with Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, December 27, 1961.

Figure 72. Saddled mules at the "souk." Saddles are made from wool and palmetto fibers and are stuffed with straw. The front is decorated with embroidery in colorful woolen materials.

Figure 73. A mule being shod with shoes made in the market. Mules are shod by the blacksmiths, who make shoes in the market. The life of the tribe centers around the "souk" as tribesmen engage in more farming to supply the demand of the large produce market of Marrakech.

Figure 74. A sale being consumated. Bargaining is often heated; but, upon agreement, smiles and handshakes and a little extra are given to assure the "baraka," or special blessing, for in the end, good social relationships are most desired. A small tax is paid to the Committee for permission to sell in the animal market. Cows, sheep, goats, and mules are sold in this section of the market.[59]

---

[59]Interview held with Moulay Abdallah, Caid of Ourika, May 15, 1962.

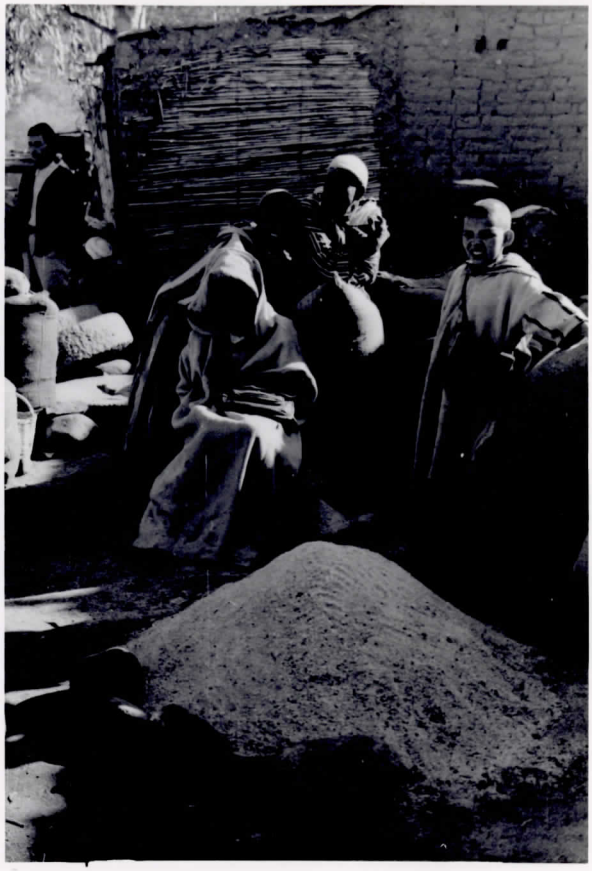


Figure 75. Salt displayed for sale. Salt is displayed in an open pile on the ground. Salt water is drawn from shallow wells, evaporated in small pools, and sold without further purification. Rock salt is also mined in the region and sold in the market.

Figure 76. Vegetables being taken to market. The ample water supply from the streams enables farmers to produce large quantities of root vegetable crops for local and regional markets.

Figure 77. A smiling vender prepared for the day's business.

Figure 78. The trinkets shop in the market. This shop specializes in cosmetics, combs of horn, wooden spoons, and tea glasses. Many itinerate salesmen sell in a different "souk" each day except Friday, when no "souk" is held. A tax is levied upon each vender for use by the local Committee.[60]

---

[60]Interview held with Moulay Abdallah, Caid of Ourika, February 18, 1963.

Figure 79. Shops for display of wares. More elaborate shops may be rented for the display of wares. This building is made of mud and stone, with wooden timbers for the ceiling joists and arches.

Figure 80. An olive oil vender.

Figure 81. Raw wool being purchased for the rug-making center of Marrakech.

Figure 82. A market cafe. Brochettes, bread, and tea are sold here to hungry visitors.

Figure 83. Doughnuts being cooked by an itinerate salesman. Buckets of dough are prepared beforehand and brought to the "souk," where the dough is cooked in hot olive oil. Doughnuts are very tasty and are considered a special treat by the tribesmen. In many tribes, doughnuts are cooked in camel fat.[61]

---

[61] Ibid.

Figure 84. Shoes being repaired by the traveling shoe cobbler.

Figure 85. A Berber boy minding his father's donkey. While he waits, his father sells sheep brought to market in donkey baskets.

XV. SOME CUSTOMS AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Tribesmen have chosen a life secluded in the harsh, inaccessible mountain reaches. They have developed a way of life which is successful in meeting the basic necessities of life. Nature has brought forth sufficient sustenance for life, and man's dependence upon nature has been evident at all times. Man's tenure in life has been dependent upon maintaining a proper alignment with the forces for good without provoking or arousing the forces of evil. Since he has been certain of the consequences of many of his acts, he has come to rely on dependable, set patterns for survival. He has shown very little desire to take chances by trying any new experiences. The past has been so sure that to take chances on the future would be unthinkable. Thus, his desire has been for a way of life unchanged. His world has been filled with many occult forces, some of which should be attracted or conquered, while others were not to be attracted at all; and, if inadvertently attracted, they had to be appeased. Islam has not changed this basic attitude of life.

The giving of food and lodging to strangers has been considered a good omen, as well as caring for the sick and the poor. Provision has been made for a widow, upon the death of her husband, to marry her husband's brother. When bargaining, it is regarded as good practice, in the end, to give a little extra for a good omen. Members of the tribe are traditionally hospitable to strangers. Much of this attitude can be attributed to the need for sharing the necessities of life in a tribal society and to the importance of oral communication, which is intensified

because there is no written word. Group discussions seem to fill much of the social need in this primitive area. More important, however, is the idea that all individuals are capable, to some degree, of giving a blessing or a curse. It would be foolish, therefore, to take chances when gracious treatment of a stranger would lessen the curse or increase the blessing.

Neither the village nor the home may be entered without first calling out and obtaining an invitation from the chief of the village or the oldest male of the home. Many homes have the tail of an animal hanging over the doorway to ward off evil spirits. Except during the merry-making of the harvest season, all animals are brought within the household enclosure; children are secured behind bolted doors; and general quietness prevails for the night for fear of the evil "djoon,"[62] or evil spirits of the night, which are discussed in a later section of this chapter.

All tasks performed in the tribe are carefully defined and coded, and adherence to this code is the custom. Tradition has dictated that there be no overlapping from one trade to another. It is socially unacceptable for one group to violate this custom to engage in work which has been traditionally assigned to another group. Each trade is also assigned a social position or stratum in this carefully defined hierarchy of work. Tribal life, therefore, is made much more complicated by

---

[62]Gustave Harcourt, Moroccan Customs and Social Relations (Rabat, Morocco: United States Operations Mission, 1960), pp. 1-24.

these practices, and progress is exceedingly more difficult than it would be if each tribal member spent time and effort in planning and effecting useful improvements not possible under present thinking and practice.[63] Adhering closely to the custom has contributed to the security and survival of the tribe, but it leaves insufficient motivation for many needed improvements.

If one should be forced by economic pressure to engage in labor not assigned to his social group, however, he can save face by going outside the tribe to perform this kind of labor. Seasonal work is especially subject to this practice, and it would appear that a special added inducement is the opportunity to engage in activities morally unacceptable and more difficult under the social pressures of one's own community.[64]

Barbers serve an important function in the tribe. They give "haircuts" which consists of shaving the head and face. They let blood, which is considered by many to be necessary once or twice each year. In this operation, two spots on the back of the head are scraped, and suction cups are applied until the proper amount of blood is let. Barbers also pull teeth; and their advertisement consists of displaying, upon a piece of cloth placed on the ground, a large number of teeth which they have extracted. They also perform circumcisions upon all boys of the

---

[63] Carleton Stevens Coon, Harvard African Studies (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1931), IX, pp. 92-95.

[64] Interview held with Mohammed Leman, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, December 20, 1959.

tribe.[65] Boys are generally circumcised before they reach the age of one year, but it is not uncommon for them to be several years of age. In any event, circumcision is performed before marriage; it is performed in September in the boy's home. A ram is slain for the special feast which is held in connection with this important rite in a boy's life. Religious leaders are invited to read from The Koran on this occasion.

---

[65] Interview held with Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, October 22, 1961.

Figure 86. A village barber at work in the "souk." Round spots may be seen where blood has been let. Some men of means and the "taleb," a student of the Koran, may engage in barbering at certain times to invoke a good omen, or in the performance of customary rites.[66]

---

[66] Ibid.

Figure 87. Bleeding being done by local barber using suction cups. Notice also the modern barber tools.

Figure 88. Young Berber boy after receiving first haircut. The first haircut comes generally after the first year. A "taleb" shaves the head, leaving a single lock on the central or right side of the head. A feast is held commemorating this important event in a boy's life.[67]

---

[67]Interview held with Yousel Abdermane, Director of Regional Koranic School, Ben Guerir, March 23, 1963.

Figure 89. Homemade toy owned by a young Berber boy. The handle and axle are made of bamboo, and the wheels are carved from leaves of a cactus plant.

XVI. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

The Berber tradition of tribal rule is democratic. They have settled their claims for centuries in courts of customary law.[68] Their more recent history of political rule has included the "caid" system, which is a plan whereby a "caid" is appointed by the regional governor to rule in all tribal affairs. At the time this study was being made, this system was being replaced by the King of Morocco's plan for a political reorganization for a more representative government. Under this new plan, each commune, or section of a tribe, elected representatives according to population and a president by popular election. Ourika is divided into two communes.

On December 7, 1962, members of the tribe had their first experience in popular elections when members of the local Committee, which was intended to replace the authority of the local caids, were elected. This was the beginning of a plan for political reform for the newly independent Morocco. Functions of the Committee include administration of tribal lands; settling of minor disputes; administration of the "souk"; establishing and collecting the rental of tribal flour mills and oil presses; and the collection of taxes at the market and in the tribe.

In implementing the second phase of the introduction of a more representative form of government, a national referendum was held in December, 1962, to decide upon acceptance or rejection of the

---

[68] Editors of LIFE MAGAZINE, The Epic of Man (New York: Time Inc., 1961), p. 261.

constitution presented by the King of Morocco. The administration of registering, campaigning, electing, and reporting was accomplished with apparent efficiency; and this, no doubt, was due to a lack of opposition in the remote region and the effectiveness of official government organization and orientation, as well as to the tribal attitude toward traditional strong leadership and unity. Of the ten thousand voters, three votes were cast against acceptance of the constitution.[69]

In looking to the immediate future, the Berber tribes, with their desire to follow custom and tradition, may act as a needed stabilizing influence to offset the more ardent "leftists" of the cities and to allow the monarchy the time needed to develop a vigorous and strong constitutional government with the vitality to cope with the many problems faced by this newly developing nation.[70]

---

[69] Interview held with Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, February 3, 1963.

[70] Interview held with Mr. Yasin, Inspector of Schools for the region of Marrakech, February 10, 1963.

XVII. DRESS

The chief difference in the dress of the mountain Berber and that of the plains-dwelling Arab is in the heavy wool garments with simple design worn by the Berbers. The introduction of cheap colorful cotton cloth, however, has found use in all parts of the tribe.

For headdress, the Berber prefers the white turban, which usually consists of a long piece of white cotton cloth wrapped about the head. This cloth may be used upon the death of the owner as a part of the shroud. Some of the younger men and boys now wear the knitted skull cap of wool or cotton which is made in Marrakech and sold in the local "souk." The "burnoose," a heavy wool garment with a hood, also serves as a blanket for the traveler because he sleeps many times in the open as he travels by foot throughout the region. The "jellaba," the traditional outer garment worn by the Arabs, is made of wool and may be purchased in the "souk" or made from wool yarn spun and woven into cloth by the women of the village. It is the custom, if economically possible, for all of the men to own a "jellaba" to wear during religious feast days and special holidays. A boy may acquire such a garment before he reaches adulthood; but the garment is made sufficiently large to fit him when he is full grown, so it is kept for a lifetime.

The Berber generally wears sandles made of leather or cloth or woven of palmetto fiber. The Arab open-heeled slipper is not suitable for use on the rough mountain trail. In recent years, sandles made from worn-out automobile tires have been introduced and have become quite popular. In spite of the snow and cold weather, the tribesmen generally

wear this open sandle with no other covering on their feet and legs. Occasionally, they wrap their legs and feet with pieces of old blankets or cloth.

Most of the men own and carry a leather bag or purse in which they carry food or small amounts of money. The bag may be decorated with a silk design, or it may be plain. The bag is worn at the side and has a woven cord by which it is hung from the opposite shoulder. The bag is usually worn beneath the outer garment. The hood of the "burnoose" or the hood of the "jellaba" is also used as a kind of basket or kit in which objects are carried when the hood is not being worn on the head. Most of the men also wear a curved knife encased in a sheath. This knife is suspended by a braided cord from the right shoulder and is worn on the outer left side of the "burnoose." The knife serves mainly as an object of dress, but it may serve as a weapon of defense or for the slaughtering of animals for food when the tribesmen are away from the village. Knives serve as a status of wealth. They are made in Marrakech or Fez and may be made of ordinary steel with a sheath of brass; a knife of this kind would cost about five dollars. A knife of better quality, which may have a blade of the best grade of steel and a sheath of silver engraved with the most intricate design, could cost as much as one hundred dollars.[71]

---

[71] Interview held with Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, November 16, 1962.

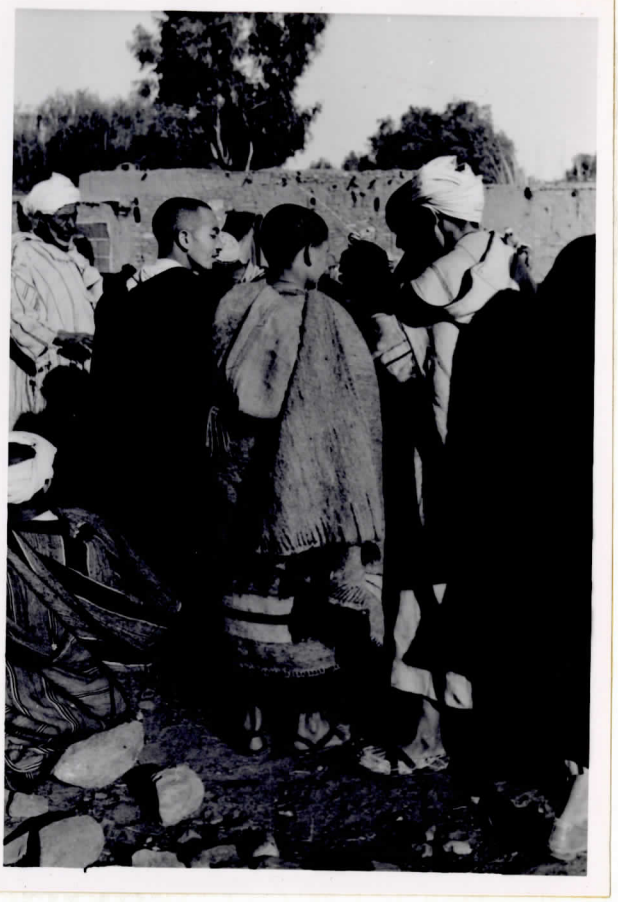


Figure 90. Berbers of the High Atlas Mountains transacting business at the valley "souk." Open sandles are generally worn even in the snow. The "burnoose" of natural sheep wool and goat hair is made by the women of the village. The "burnoose" weighs as much as fifteen pounds and serves as an outer dress garment as well as a blanket.

Figure 91. The hooded "burnoose." The hood serves as a shield against rain and cold during the long winter in the High Atlas Mountains. The hood is thrown back in the warmer valleys. Each village may have a special style and color of "burnoose."

Figure 92. A Berber boy dressed in a "burnoose." The "burnoose" serves well as a protection against the bitter cold for Berbers who spend many nights away from home on the way to market or herding sheep in the High Atlas Mountains during the summer months. The "burnoose" also serves as a sleeping blanket when visiting because the host rarely has sufficient extra blankets for guests. This "burnoose" takes at least three months to make and sells for about thirty dollars. This young Berber boy has had his scalp lock cut, as do all boys of the tribe upon reaching puberty or upon marriage.[72]

---

[72]Interview held with Mohammed Hassan of the village of Takatert, November 12, 1962.

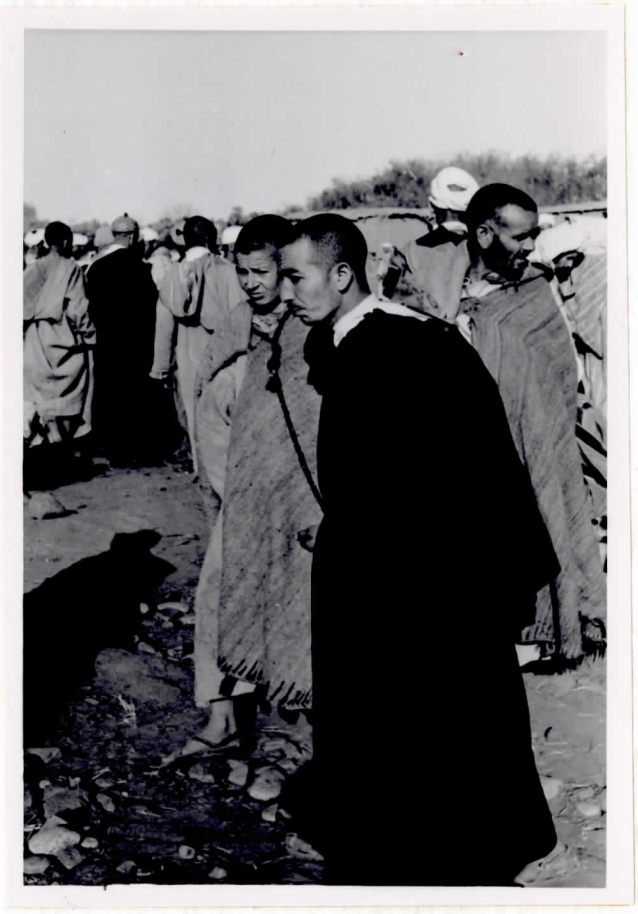


Figure 93. Front view of the "burnoose."

Figure 94. A "jellaba" and turban. The "jellaba" is made of wool which is spun and woven by hand by the women of the village. A good wife must know how to make these garments. The turban is worn in military fashion.

Figure 95. A wealthy tribesman selling livestock in the weekly market. The boy at the right wears a scalp lock on the right of his scalp as is the tribal custom. Here the turban is worn in customary fashion.

Figure 96. Tribesmen from one of the highest villages of the Atlas Mountains, located at about ten thousand feet elevation. These men have gray eyes and red hair and beard. General features of this type of Berber least resemble the Arabs of Morocco today. Skull caps are usually knitted by men and sold in the "souk." The type of turban worn by the Berber on the right is found only in the most remote regions and is made of many strands of yarn spun from wool or goat hair.[73]

---

[73]Interview held with Berber tribesmen and Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, January 7, 1963.

XVIII. MEN IN THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Men do their best in all things to imply their superiority over women in wisdom, influence, and power. Perhaps the clue to the truth stems from their practice of attempting in the man's world to pretend that women do not exist. When mention is made of women, however, there is always the reply, "You know how women are." This is supposed to account for all things and to minimize the tribal role of the woman.

Men are handicapped in dealing with Berber women. They operate under the stated word that men are superior, that their judgment should go unchallenged, and that there is no need for further group discussion on the matter. Women are more realistic and spend much time in discussing their problems and seeking out every available solution. As a result, men stand alone against a united front.[74]

The family head is chiefly an administrator. He conducts all business transactions and delegates all menial tasks to other members of the household, leaving his time free for supervision and tribal politics. His strongest characteristics are his love for freedom, his individualism, his pride, his hospitality, and his insistance on being heard on tribal matters. He makes a great effort to be informed. Tradition is very important in his life. He is polite, courteous, and considers it his solemn duty to be complimentary. The Berber men do their best to avoid saying "No," often sending an intermediary to preclude this

---

[74]Gusteve Harcourt, Moroccan Customs and Social Relations (Rabat, Morocco: United States Operations Mission, 1960), p. 16.

possibility. They seem to enjoy entertaining strangers and the giving of gifts, no matter how small. They like to be considered pious but are very superstitious. Good will seems to be the most essential element in all human relationships, whether in buying, selling, meeting strangers, or engaging in routine social activities. The Berber exerts great effort and utilizes every means to invoke a blessing, or "baraka," from those with whom he comes in contact. He always gives a little extra after a sale is consumated and offers a portion of his food and drink to strangers as well as to friends.[75]

Much time and effort are spent in transporting products to the weekly "souk" and returning with needed commodities. "Souk" day is a combination of buying, selling, gossiping, attending to local business, and engaging in local politics. Since many families live in the high reaches of the Atlas Mountains and travel by foot or on mule back, many men spend as much as three days each week transacting business in the "souk." The life of the tribe centers around the market since the Berbers of Ourika are turning to farming in addition to their ancient practice of grazing. Although the direct barter system is not in use, there seems to be a strong inclination to produce no more at a given time than is needed to purchase immediate basic commodities.[76]

In spite of the strong individualistic traits held and the loud and long protest exhibited when one feels infringement upon his rights,

---

[75]Interview held with Mr. Yasin, Inspector of Schools for the region of Marrakech, May 30, 1963.

[76]Interview held with Mr. Haddan, Director of Teachers Training School, Marrakech, July 4, 1962.

the social strata are rather well defined, with each person happily accepting his position. Exploitation is the accepted way of life, with each social stratum exploiting the social group at the next lower level. Nonetheless, there is a great obligation on the part of the more wealthy tribal members to share a portion of their wealth to be used in the care of the poor.

Another portion is regularly paid in support of the "Fkih," or religious man of the village who, in times past, gave the only formal education to the boys of the village but who now devotes his efforts to teaching the tenets of Islam.[77] The Berber men also make regular pilgrimages to the "Moussem," or religious shrines; but, in addition to fulfilling the religious rites, they also participate in a two-or-three-day market and merrymaking, which includes the more pagan-like rite of sleeping and having sexual relations with Berber girls who come for this purpose.[78]

XIX. WOMEN IN THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY

One basic aspect of the life of Berber women indicates an endless life of toil and hardship. They have no formal public schooling. From about the age of eight, after she has developed sufficient strength to assume such responsibility, the girl must take her place and share in gathering scarce brush to be used for fuel in cooking and baking. She

---

[77]Carleton Stevens Coon, Harvard African Studies (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1931), IX, p. 113.

[78]Interview held with Mohammed Hassan of the village of Takatert, November 11, 1962.

must tend the cows and cut vegetation for the family livestock.[79] The woman's work is well defined. She may not plow the soil, but she may pull weeds from a planted crop. She must grind the grain in the home on a small stone grinder or take the grain used for making bread to mill. She must cook and bake. An ambitious wife spins wool yarn and weaves wool for blankets, "jellabas," and "burnooses." She may also make rugs for family use. It is disgraceful for her to be seen riding a mule, so all of her burdens are carried on her back. She is allowed to help gather olives and certain other crops, but she must not engage in gathering nor threshing barley. She cares for the chickens and milks the livestock. She is generally married between the ages of fourteen and fifteen.[80] She exerts a subtle and important influence in arranging for the first contact in the marriage contract. After the men conclude the contract, the women again have a major share in arranging for the wedding ceremony. The mother exerts an important influence as she rears her children. She weaves baskets, mats, and other useful household items from palmetto fronds. She carries much of the water needed for family use and does most of the family laundry.[81] It is quite common, however, for the men to wash their own heavy "burnooses" or "jellabas."[82] The economic necessity of life under such harsh conditions, rather than the

---

[79] Editors of LIFE MAGAZINE, The Epic of Man, op. cit., p. 265.

[80] Coon, Harvard African Studies, op. cit., p. 132.

[81] Interview with Mr. Yasin, Inspector of Schools for the region of Marrakech, May 31, 1963.

[82] Editors of LIFE MAGAZINE, The Epic of Man, op. cit., p. 263.

practice of Islam, seems to relegate women to such an inferior social position.

In attempting to define and explain the role of the Berber women, it is not sufficient to depict the hard lot that is theirs. To overcome this, the women have contrived many practices which effectively elevate their position higher than any male tribesman would dare to admit, and they find many ways to bring their influence to bear, both in their own household and in the local community. Chief among these is the same rugged individualistic behavior manifested so much by the men. Close observation of the women indicates subtle but effective influence upon life in the tribe. Much time is spent on personal grooming. Eye shadow made of powdered lead sulfide ore is generally and generously used. Lipstick is made from moistened English walnut bark. Henna and rancid butter are used to plaster the hair; in warm weather, the face is streaked as the butter melts.[83] Henna is also used to dye the feet, ankles, and hands. On special festive occasions, the women attempt to outdo each other by covering their hands or feet with intricate designs. The use of henna as a cosmetic has a dual purpose of enhancing beauty and warding off evil spirits.[84]

Jewelry is the cherished possession of all. Mothers encourage this by giving their daughters amber beads, gold and silver bracelets, earrings, and special headdresses while they are very young. Any

---

[83] Interview held with Mr. Yasin, Inspector of Schools for the region of Marrakech, June 1, 1963.

[84] Nina Epton, Saints and Sorcerers, a Moroccan Journey (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1958), pp. 142-71.

acceptable dowry includes a major addition of jewelry to this collection. A husband who returns home after an important and successful business trip to the "souk" and does not bring some gift in gold or silver will receive a cool reception. The women happily bear the weight of this collection of gold and silver at all times. A wife who cannot wear all of her jewelry at one time does not need more; the obvious implication is that the giving of favors must be a reciprocal and continuing affair to give mutual happiness. The women allow the men to put on an outward show of superiority only if they pay the price for this tranquility.[85]

Many men admit that market day is the day of the love tryst for the women left in the mountain villages but that this happens only in the household of others.[86] Market day is, no doubt, the convenient time since many heads of households are away. Even if the man is away for months or years, there is the convenient belief that the child may be sleeping in the womb, that pregnancy sometimes lasts for years, and that the child may be awakened at any time. This is a convenient belief for both man and wife as many Berbers go to the cities to open a shop and may not return to their wives for months or years. There is no need for further explanation when a man returns to his home after a year or more of absence, only to be presented with a new baby.[87]

---

[85] Interview held with Rkia Bent Omar of the village of Asni, October 11, 1962.

[86] Interview held with Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, November 24, 1962.

[87] Gustave Harcourt, The People of Morocco (Rabat, Morocco: United States Operations Mission, 1960), p. 14.

Much of the real power of women is considered to come from their possession of a deep and mysterious magic power not understood by men.[88] It is probably closer to the truth to say that man has invented and enlarged upon this attitude conveniently to explain away his inability to control the fickle Berber women as he would like. That is to say, were it not for this mystic power, man would be in full charge of the household.

The women spend much time, effort, and expense in exploiting every opportunity to manipulate circumstances to their advantage. What cannot be gained by personal charm may be attempted by strong individualistic traits possessed by the Berber women. If this fails, there is no limit to occult practices and powers available in assuring desired results. In difficult cases, all forces may be brought to bear upon the defenseless male. The woman may pay a visit to the "taleb," who possesses mystic power and who, for a fee, will give proper advice and an amulet or talisman designed to bring about the desired results. Certain women, especially the "qabla," or midwife, have unusual powers of persuasion in most matters, including advice concerning problems with men.

Women find many opportunities to exchange remedies for the solution to problems as they work together in the fields, carry water from the streams, or mill grain in the home. The greater number of remedies applied, the better is the chance for solution. In planning their mystic ways, they desire to ward off the evil eye or evil spirit called

---

[88] Ibid., p. 12.

"Djnoon," which they believe has powers over the home, crops, or children, and the ability to influence a husband to be true or blind to their love for another. They may want to increase their fertility, avoid pregnancy, or even induce abortion. Much of the drudgery is removed from daily labor, and social gatherings take on new meaning as methods for dealing with men are happily shared. There is an optimism that careful search will bring forth a proper solution to all matrimonial matters.[89] The fact that women maintain exclusive control over boys until circumcision and girls until marriage gives them the privilege of perpetuating a culture in which they have more than nominal influence.[90]

Festive occasions are celebrated by feasting and a dance called the "haouash," for which a large number of girls dress in their finest and dance for hours. These celebrations give yet another opportunity for women to exhibit their charms in a very direct manner.[91] The results of promiscuous sex intercourse do not pose a serious problem in a culture where marriage is generally arranged at puberty and in which it is believed that the period of gestation lasts for an indefinite time. The attempt to segregate women from a man's world creates two separate sexual societies. As a result, women are allowed to perpetuate many ancient tribal practices to manipulate their households to special advantage. The lives of these primitive people are not simple and plain, but

---

[89] Interview held with Mr. Yasin, Inspector of Schools for the region of Marrakech, June 2, 1963.

[90] Harcourt, The People of Morocco, op. cit., p. 12.

[91] Interview held with Si Hassan, President of the Mountain Commune, November 25, 1962.

contradictory and complicated. There is a constant fear of mysterious influences which may be set against them during critical periods of their lives. Women assume, and are believed to possess, special power over these forces.

The lot of the Berber woman, though unenviable and harsh by western standards, is not one of total subservience; it is one of relative independence and superiority over men.[92]

---

[92]Interview held with Mr. Yasin, Inspector of Schools for the region of Marrakech, April 29, 1963.

Figure 97. Berber girls at play in a village of potters. Girls are allowed much freedom until they reach puberty, at which time they are betrothed and enter the segregated social world known only to tribal women.

Figure 98. A Berber girl wearing a brass amulet containing some special charm to ward off evil or to bring special blessings. Her parents will choose a husband for her when she is fourteen or fifteen years old. She will keep her father's name after marriage, as is the patrilineal custom.[93]

---

[93]Editors of LIFE MAGAZINE, The Epic of Man, loc. cit.

Figure 99. Berber women tending cows.

Figure 100. Designs for festive occasions made with henna. There is no set pattern of design. Henna design will last from two to four weeks, depending upon the amount and type of work being done. The feet are also bathed in a solution of henna.[94]

---

[94] Interview held with Rkia Bent Omar of the village of Asni, October 12, 1962.

Figure 101. A Berber woman sunning outside the market wall. It is socially unacceptable for women to shop in the regular Monday market.[95]

---

[95] Interview held with Si Hassan, President of Mountain Commune, November 28, 1962.

Figure 102. Berber women enjoying a back-fence gossip session. Tribal life is greatly influenced by this constant exchange of "news" and magic formulas.

Figure 103. Gathering brush for fuel for cooking. This is a never-ending job for Berber women.

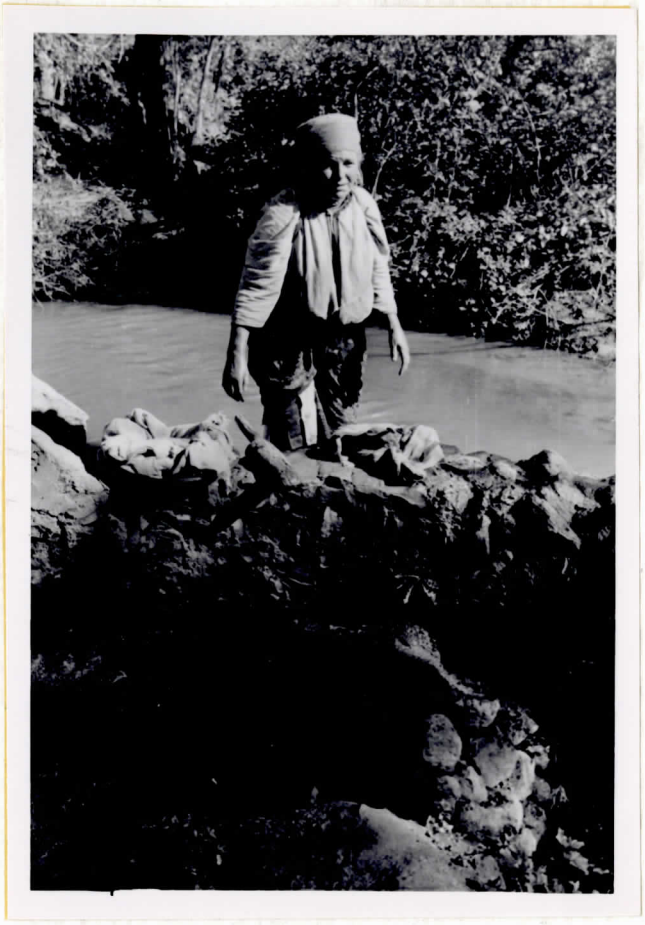


Figure 104. The washing being done by a village woman in a small stream.

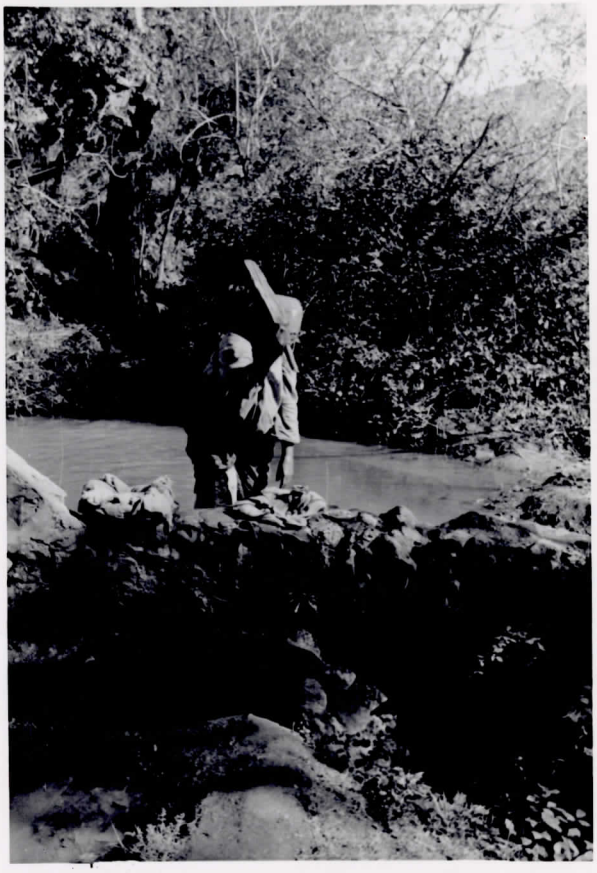


Figure 105. Wet clothes being beaten clean with a wooden paddle. No soap is used.

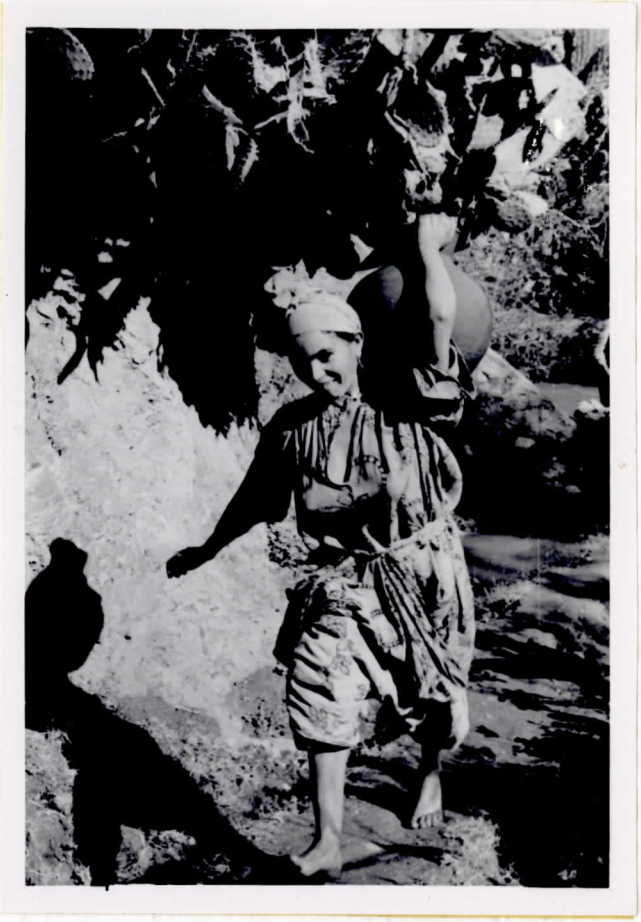


Figure 106. A Berber woman carrying water. Carrying water from the river streams or irrigation ditches is part of a woman's morning work. Fruit of the cactus (top center), or "Christian fig" as it is called, serves as a substantial supplement to the diet during August and September. Berber women do not wear a veil as do other Moslems.

Figure 107.
A typical method of carrying babies.

Figure 108. Berber women and a child going for water. Going for water together offers a fine opportunity to share the day's "news" with a neighbor.

Figure 109. Berber girls dancing the traditional dance called the "haoush."

Figure 110. Headdresses made of old Moroccan silver coins.

XX. YOUNG FAMILY OF SCHOOL COMMUNITY

Life in the remote villages of the High Atlas Mountains is austere and grim and affords only the barest necessities of life. Yet, the inhabitants have developed a way of life which has served them satisfactorily for centuries.

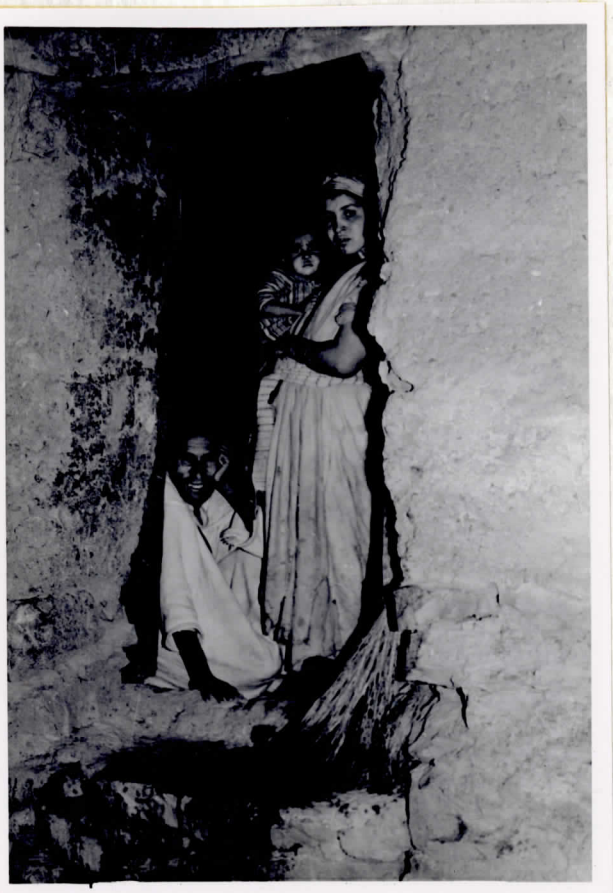


Figure 111. A young Berber family of a mountain village posing in the doorway of their home. The home consists of a single room which is used for all activities of family living. An adjacent room serves as shelter for animals. In winter, snow reaches a depth of three feet.[96]

---

[96] Interview held with Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, October 22, 1961.

Figure 112. A young Berber mother. Inside the six-foot-by-eighteen-foot room of pressed mud, a young mother prepares the evening meal which consists of a bowl of corn soup for each member of the family. The basic diet is corn or barley soup seasoned with salt. Corn is ground on a small hand grist mill. Girls marry soon after reaching puberty.[7]

---

[7] Ibid.

Figure 113. Inside a Berber home. This room is darkened by smoke from cooking fires. Rooms have no windows but have small slits through which the smoke can escape. The family sleeps fully clothed on a fiber mat. Many families have no blankets, and very few families have extra changes of clothing. Outer garments are washed at one time, inner garments at another. The brush piled in the background is used as fuel for cooking. The decorated basket is used to keep foods warm prior to serving, to store bread left over from one meal to the next, and to keep the flies out of the food. These baskets are made in the city shops and sold in the village market. A low table is used as a serving table when the family is seated on the mat on the floor. The sieve on the table is made of a thin circularly formed piece of wood over which is stretched a skin pierced with holes. The sieve is used to separate bran from flour. The small teapot is used for serving sweet mint tea.[98]

---

[98] Ibid.

XXI. RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Religion. The "Fkih," or religious leader, is one of the most important men of the village. His support is assured by gifts as prescribed in The Koran, The Hadith, or by custom. Until the introduction of public education into the tribe, the "Fkih" gave the basic formal education to the boys and also attended many of the fundamental rites held in connection with circumcision, birth, the first haircut, marriage, and death. The lack of an organized priesthood has led to a diversity and a complexity of practice among the tribal members. A certificate of competency from a traditional Koranic university, where many years are spent in memorizing The Koran and The Hadith, enhances one's position in the community and local region. Boys are taught to recite portions of The Koran and to understand the obligations of Islam. Perpetuation of the status quo, in which the "Fkih" holds a key position in the life of tribal members, appears to be the chief objective. His influence is felt from birth until death; and his actions may be based upon The Koran, The Hadith, mystic interpretation of The Koran, or on complicated mystic traditions.[99] It would be of great interest to observe the reaction of the "Fkih" if the security of his position should be threatened by the public school. The fact that teaching of The Koran is a basic part of public education may postpone the conflict. Another factor that bolsters the position of the "Fkih" is the practice of males without heirs willing

---

[99]Interview held with Yousef Abdermane, Director of the Regional Koranic School, Ben Guerir, April 21, 1962.

their land to the regional mosque or religious shrine, thus creating a sizable vested interest for the religious leaders. The precarious balance between life and death contributes to the need for a visible symbol to intercede and manipulate the many mystic forces to bring a good omen or to repel evil.[100]

One part of the annual "moussem" held at the shrine of Sidi Fariss appears to have been derived from pagan practice. When the sacrificial sheep is slaughtered, it is an especially good omen to cut pieces from the animal before it is dead. The meat obtained in this way is placed in the shrine for three days; it is then cooked and given to members of the religious brotherhood who solicit funds throughout the region for the support and perpetuation of the keepers of the shrine.[101]

Supernatural Beings. Tribal members attribute to evil forces many of the calamities of life which occur because of unhealthful practices.

It is estimated that one-third of the babies born in the tribe of Ourika die before the age of two years. It is estimated that six hundred to eight hundred babies are born each year. They are not given a bath for the first year for fear that great harm will befall them. This fear comes from the idea that man is more susceptible to harm during certain periods of life than in others. A child is especially subject to evil influence during the first forty days of life, and a mother is said

---

[100] Ibid.

[101] Interview held with Mohammed Hassan of the village of Takatert, November 27, 1961.

to have one foot in the grave during this time. This idea probably relates to the physical condition of the mother. Women also must take special care to ward off evil during the period of menstruation. A complex formula also must be used by both men and women as they enter into and consummate the marriage contract and afterwards as they engage in sexual intercourse. A woman may give a small portion of her urine to a child to counteract the effects of some diseases. The urine of a camel is considered especially effective for removing corns and bunions.[102]

According to their general belief, there are--in addition to the good angel on the right and the evil angel on the left of each person, who record all the good and evil a person does--the mysterious and potentially dangerous "djnoon," or evil spirits, which hold great sway over the household, especially at night. There is one "djinn" for each person. Special kindness must be given to these creatures to avoid their displeasure and the harm which they have the power to inflict. One must invoke God by saying "Bismillah" ("In the name of God") if one steps across spilled blood in the household because, by so doing, one may kick a "djinn" which is eating the blood. If he should be so treated, it would arouse his ire and, in turn, he might do great harm to the offender. It is much better for one to step around the blood and, by so doing, allow the "djinn" to eat undisturbed. It is thought to be extremely dangerous to pour hot water on the floor during the night because of the possibility of scalding one of these creatures. Likewise,

---

[102]Interview held with Mrs. Mohammed Hassan of the village of Takatert, December 3, 1962.

it is thought to be an especially good practice to leave some henna, sugar, or some other sweet substance in the corner of the room at night. Uneaten sweets left over from the night before are not to be eaten by humans because the "djnoon" have eaten on them.

One way to create good will when moving into a new house is to place cooked cereal around the walls and in the corner at night. This attempt at creating good will seems to indicate that "djnoon" inhabit houses and do not move from house to house as occupants do. "Djnoon" may cause blindness, distortions of the body, soreness, and all kinds of diseases, as well as ill will. One woman who was interviewed related the story that she got up one night, poured some hot water out the door, went back to sleep, and arose the next morning to find that she was blind in one eye. She got no better after repeated visits to the doctor. She was told by a friend to go to a "taleb" or scribe. After repeated visits over a twelve-week period, she regained her sight. Treatment consisted of the scribe's writing words on paper, pouring a liquid over the written words, and bathing the eye with this liquid. Each visit to the scribe cost from forty to sixty cents. Persons "with an evil eye" may cast a curse upon objects or persons and cause great harm.[103]

---

[103]Interview held with Rkia Bent Omar of the village of Asni, February 22, 1961.

XXII. MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

The wedding rites in the tribe of Ourika are lengthy and complicated affairs because this period in life is especially filled with great danger. Weddings generally take place in September, the happy time, when most crops are gathered and the weather is most pleasant. The general age for the marriage of boys is sixteen or seventeen years and for girls, fourteen or fifteen years. Since Berber girls wear no veil, boys and girls are permitted to talk together; and it is common for them to form a preference for a mate. Parents, however, have the final decision and make all of the overt proposals for marriage. After this initial stage of preparedness, the mother of the boy seeks out the mother of the girl in the women's market or in some other convenient place and broaches the subject in such a round-about way that she may drop the subject if she receives no encouragement. If the two do agree, the men of the families officially take up the subject and begin settlement of matters, including the amount of the dowry. The latter amount depends upon the usefulness, character, and attractiveness of the bride, and the ability of the groom to pay. This amount may range from a few dollars to several hundred dollars. The period between betrothal and and marriage is filled with complicated rituals, apparently essential for warding off evil and invoking fertility. During this period, the bride is attended in her home and the groom in his by a host of friends and relatives. This ritual and attention increases during the three-day wedding ceremony. Free food is served at both houses to all guests. The bride is made up with eye shadow, and her hands and feet are bathed

in henna daily until the feast is over. In addition to the food, there are singing and dancing for most of the three nights. Musicians are hired to perform and, as an added attraction, they make obscene gestures and remarks for the amusement of the guests. On the third night, the bride is brought to the house of the groom where he is prepared for her arrival. The bride goes into the wedding room to remain with her husband the remainder of the night while the guests continue their merrymaking until dawn. If coitus takes place the first night, a part of the bride's clothing is passed among the guests as proof of the bride's virginity. If the bride is not a virgin, it is said that this proof is postponed until a chicken can be killed in secret and blood applied to the bride's clothing to prove her virginity. In the event that she is not a virgin, it is also possible for her to be rejected and a refund of the dowry claimed.[104]

XXIII. METAL WORKERS

Metal workers are subjected to social restrictions, and iron working is reserved to members of the Negro race, who are outsiders and immigrants.[105] Since no smelting is done in the tribe, one can rightfully say that the tribe is not in the metal age although they use iron tools exclusively. The blacksmiths work over a charcoal fire and obtain the desired temperatures for forging by the use of a double bellows made

---

[104]Coon, op. cit., pp. 132-42.

[105]Ibid., p. 64.

of goat-skin bags. The blacksmith makes ploughshares, sickles, hoes, axes, hammers, horseshoes, picks, mattocks, pruning knives, shears, knives, scissors, adzes, chisels, hatchets, and sledges, as well as door bolts, locks, iron grillwork for windows, door knockers, special straps for hanging doors and windows, and large round-headed nails for constructing doors. Handles for tools are made from roughly hewn wood.[106] Ploughshares made resemble those made by the Philistines and Hebrews about 2000 B.C.[107] The modern method of hafting with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis is generally used; but some axes are still made by heating a flat piece of metal and folding the ends over, enlarging the center of the fold for hafting and pounding, and forging the two ends to form one piece. A piece of steel may be welded into the cutting edge and sharpened on a grindstone made of sandstone.[108]

XXIV. DEATH AND BURIAL

When a person dies, the first act performed by others is to place the body upon a washing board which is kept in the mosque. Sometimes the door of the mosque is used. The corpse is then washed with warm water. If available, soap is also used. The person who bathes the body must be dressed in clean clothes and his body must be clean. The corpse

---

[106] Interview held with the chief of the blacksmiths and Mohammed Lemam, Superintendent of Ourika Schools, in the Monday market, Takatert, January 14, 1963.

[107] Editors of LIFE MAGAZINE, The Epic of Man, op. cit., p. 123.

is then dried, and sweet spices are placed in the nostrils. Ground henna is then placed on the beard of men. In a clean white cloth about one meter (a little more than a yard) by four meters in size, a hole is cut and the head is placed through the hole. The cloth is then doubled to drape the body, front and back. A strip of cloth is tied around the waist and legs. A small cloth about fifty centimeters (between nineteen and twenty inches) by two meters in size serves as a turban. The hands are folded over the chest, and the entire body is covered with an outer cloth about one meter by five meters in size. Strips of cloth are then tied around the waist and below the feet.

Students of the Koran are invited to come to the home and recite. Each student is given a different chapter in order that the entire Koran may be recited. Food is served to all who come. If the family is too poor to provide food, neighbors bring provisions.

The body is then carried, head first, to the cemetery. Four men carry the corpse to the grave, constantly changing places with others because it is a great honor to help carry the dead. If the bier must be carried a great distance, making it necessary to place it upon the ground along the way, a pillar of stones must be made at each such point. Before the body is placed in the grave, the death prayer is recited. Women leave before this prayer but may return to pray after the interment. The body is then placed in the grave on the right side, facing Mecca. The grave is filled and a headstone and footstone set in place. Early the next morning, the women return to say "Good morning" and to have the "taleb" read from the Koran. At sunup, they return to the house for the "dead man's breakfast."

As many religious men as can be afforded come at sundown of the first, second, and third day to read the Koran. On the third night and the fortieth night, a dinner is held in honor of the deceased. During this period of forty days, the portion of food belonging to the deceased is given to the poor.[109]

---

[109]Interview held with Yousef Abdermane, Director of the Regional Koranic School, Ben Guerir, April 2, 1962.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

The system of public education introduced in the tribe in 1957 is based on a central state program which has evolved from the French state system operated in much of Morocco during the colonial period. With independence came an urgent endeavor to educate the masses. A teacher shortage made critical by the mass exodus of French teachers became a very serious problem, as did the shortage of funds, caused chiefly by a failure to conclude an agreement with France during the emotional post-independence days. Moroccan aid to the Algerian Revolution prolonged this period of mutual suspicion.[1] From the time of independence until October, 1962, most of the teachers in the tribe had had no formal preparation for teaching, and the average amount of formal schooling totaled only about six years.[2] This, with a shortage of school buildings and a multi-aged pupil population, made progress appear to be a most formidable task.

Prior to the school year 1957-58, the only public schools in the tribe were said to have been located in the villages of Takatert, Agaiour, Setti Fatma, and Ighermane, and they were operated by the colonial government. Verbal accounts and the record of enrollment by

---

[1] Taken from school records located in the office of Central School, Takatert.

[2] Interview held with Mr. Haddan, Director of Teachers Training School, Marrakech, July 5, 1962.

grade for 1957-58 indicated that 172 pupils had completed the first grade. From these records, it appears that a school had been in operation in 1956-57 in Agaiour, with approximately 42 students; another in Setti Fatma, with approximately 28 students; and a third in Ighermane, with approximately 32 students. It would appear that a school was operated in the village of Takatert in 1955-56, with an enrollment of approximately 20 students, and in 1956-57, with an enrollment of approximately 70 students.[3]

I. THE SCHOOL

School buildings were constructed of stone, mud, prefabricated sections of glass, wood, and steel, with asbestos roofing, and Dallas huts furnished by the United States Air Force. Classroom furniture consisted of students' desks; in some instances a teacher's desk; and one or two small chalk boards with hinged portions on each side which could be folded to cover work on the board to be used later as a test, a review, or an aid in developing the lesson. Students were seated at wooden desks designed for two students. Because of the lack of classroom space, however, many times desks were occupied by three students. Equipment and supplies generally consisted of some textbooks in the basic subjects, and chalk. Students furnished their own pen, ink, small centimeter ruler, and specially lined copybook for the writing of Arabic.

---

[3]Taken from school records in the office of Central School, Takatert.

Enrollment figures were unavailable for the years 1959-60 and 1960-61. According to the figures shown in the census report taken in November, 1960, however, there were 4,636 children who were 6 to 14 years of age in the tribe. During this same period, there was a school enrollment of 1,121 students who were 7 to 14 years of age. This means that approximately 25 per cent of all eligible tribal children were attending schools in November, 1960. From these figures, it has been determined that 50 per cent of the eligible boys attended school since practically no girls were enrolled.

School enrollment figures indicate a net school enrollment growth from 1957-58, with an enrollment of 542 boys and 96 girls for a total of 638 students, to 1961-62, with an enrollment of 1,275 boys and 107 girls for a total of 1,382 students. The following year, 1962-63, there was a decline in total enrollment, both in the total number of students enrolled and the total number of girls enrolled. Student enrollment for 1962-63 showed an enrollment of 1,169 boys and 5 girls for a total of 1,174 students--a total drop of 208 students. It was significant that the enrollment of girls dropped from a total of 107 students in 1961-62 to a total of 5 in 1962-63, and the enrollment of boys from 1,275 in 1961-62 to 1,169 in 1962-63, or a total drop in enrollment of 208 students. This drop in the enrollment of girls represents a decision to drop the plan for formal education of girls until a later date and does not reflect any change in attitude on the part of parents toward the school. Although the enrollment of girls in the tribe never exceeded the total of 149 students attained in 1958-59, this total was 17 per cent of the total enrollment for that year. Reduction in the total

enrollment for 1962-63 also reflected the inability of the Central Government to build and equip schools, to provide adequately prepared teachers, and otherwise to support financially the schools at the previous rate of growth.

This reduction did, however, mark the period of specific change to get at the root of many perplexing problems, among which were those of providing better teachers and better supervision. It marked the beginning of a plan to place a number of students who had completed eight years of formal training on contract and give them one year's special teacher education in the "Modrast Moalemeen," or Teachers Training School, in Marrakech. This period was also marked by an attempt to give all teachers copies of a curriculum guide.

Growth is also indicated by the number of schools established in new locations. It also indicates the efforts to be more democratic, because new schools were established in several remote regions of the mountains which could be reached only by foot or on mule back. This was done in spite of the inability of several established schools to accommodate, because of a lack of space, all students of the community who were eligible to attend.

The difficulty of providing communication, supervision, and guidance to the inadequately educated teachers was great. The terrain, general lack of roads in much of the region, and great distances were severe obstacles. Knowledge of these factors enables one better to understand the problem of providing schools for all the children.

A large number of students are retained each year because of their failure to achieve standards set by teachers, although no direct

figures were available on this part of the school program. Classification of students from year to year indicated no consistent plan of promotion and retention in the region, except at the end of the fifth grade. The student must then pass a standard comprehensive written examination issued by the Minister of Education in order to receive the elementary school diploma. This diploma is necessary for continuation in all institutions of higher learning. When the examination was administered in 1962, all students were required to take the examination under teachers in a school located in an area other than their own. This plan was followed to preclude teachers from helping their own students on the examination. The results of the examinations administered in 1960-61 and 1961-62 are shown below:

	1960-61			1961-62		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Number taking	26	2	28	45	0	45
Number passing*	20	1	21	40	0	40

*All students who failed the examination planned to remain in school to take the examination a second time.

Students who have not reached their fourteenth birthday may be accepted by the secondary schools located outside the tribe. Those who have may apply to a state-operated technical or trade school. It was found to be a common practice to pay a small bribe to have the official birthdate changed in order not to be excluded from the secondary school because of over-ageness. One basic problem encountered has been that of allowing students to enter school at the age of twelve or thirteen. This adds to the complexity of the class from a social and achievement level

and leads to frustration on the part of the students who are not allowed further public school education because of their advanced age. This problem will be eliminated in some areas in time; but it will be increased in others as new schools are established in the more remote areas which, as yet, have no schools.

A study of enrollment charts indicates also a large average class enrollment of as high as 51 students, but with an overall average of 38 students per classroom for 1962-63.

Foodstuffs for free lunches were made available directly to the Moroccan Government from United States surplus food or through United States religious organizations. Some commodities were also donated by the Moroccan Government. Rations for lunches were delivered to Central School, from where they were distributed to the receiving schools twice each month. Lunches were prepared each day by selected women from each village. Each free lunch was said to consist of four ounces of bread; one glass of milk, made from powdered milk; soup made from legumes, or a portion of fish cake; and a portion of seasonal or available fruit, such as oranges, dates, or grapes. According to observation, however, lunches consisted of one-fourth loaf of bread and a bowl of legume soup for each student. The soup was heated and served in individual bowls placed on the ground since there are no lunchrooms available. Students who brought their own lunch generally had a piece of bread of approximately three ounces.

Student health appeared to be generally good except for an unusually large number of students with colds and infected scalps. This infection, transmitted by flies, had left many boys with large bald spots.

One great disadvantage in obtaining teachers has been the remoteness and general inaccessibility of the schools. This has been overcome to some extent by the extreme generosity which is shown by the local inhabitants to teachers after they have accepted teaching positions in the villages. It was found to be the accepted practice to bestow the best of all manner of food products upon the teacher and regularly to extend invitations to him for meals. This was done on a rotating basis in order not to cause too great a burden on any one family. This courtesy extends also to doing the laundry for the teacher, as well as other services. It has been said that so complete care is taken of teachers that their entire salary may be saved. Teachers in the mountain ranges leave the remote villages only during long vacations because of the difficulty in travel and transportation.

Most teachers are men, but it seems that there would be greater morality on the part of teachers if more wife-husband teaching teams were recruited.

TABLE I

PUBLIC SCHOOL INFORMATION--1957-58

School Location	No. of Classes	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	Enrollment Boys	Enrollment Girls	Enrollment Total
Agaiouar	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 84	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 84
				Grade 2-- 42	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 42
				Total--126	Total-- 0	Total--126
Asguine	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 44	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 44
Ighermane	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 42	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 42
				Grade 2-- 32	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 32
				Total-- 74	Total-- 0	Total-- 74
Setti Fatma	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 44	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 44
				Grade 2-- 28	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 28
				Total-- 72	Total-- 0	Total-- 72
Takatert (Central)	5	5	6	Grade 1-- 98	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 98
				Grade 2-- 70	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 70
				Grade 3-- 20	Grade 3-- 2	Grade 3-- 22
				Total--188	Total-- 2	Total--190
Tigmioumzine	2	1	2	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1--86	Grade 1-- 86
Timalizene	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 38	Grade 1-- 8	Grade 1-- 46
Totals	15	14	16	542	96	638

TABLE II

PUBLIC SCHOOL INFORMATION--1958-59

School Location	No. of Classes	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	Enrollment Boys	Enrollment Girls	Enrollment Total
Agaiouar	3	2	3	Grade 1-- 48	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 48
				Grade 2-- 47	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 47
				Grade 3-- 46	Grade 3-- 0	Grade 3-- 46
				Total--141	Total-- 0	Total--141
Asguine	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 78	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 78
Ighermane	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 57	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 57
				Grade 2-- 50	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 50
				Total--107	Total-- 0	Total--107
Setti Fatma	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 52	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 52
				Grade 2-- 55	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 55
				Total--107	Total-- 0	Total--107
Takatert (Central)	6	4	6	Grade 1--136	Grade 1-- 45	Grade 1--181
				Grade 2-- 43	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 43
				Grade 3-- 33	Grade 3-- 0	Grade 3-- 33
				Total--212	Total-- 45	Total--257
Tigmiounzine	2	1	2	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 49	Grade 1-- 49
				Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 55	Grade 2-- 55
				Total-- 0	Total--104	Total--104
Timalizene	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 62	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 62
Totals	17	13	17	707	149	856

TABLE III

PUBLIC SCHOOL INFORMATION--1961-62

School Location	No. of Classes	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	Enrollment Boys	Enrollment Girls	Enrollment Total
Agaiouar	3	3	3	Grade 1-- 38	Grade 1-- 2	Grade 1-- 40
				Grade 2-- 41	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 41
				Grade 3-- 38	Grade 3-- 0	Grade 3-- 38
				Total-- 117	Total-- 2	Total-- 119
Akhlif	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 62	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 62
				Grade 2-- 50	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 50
				Total-- 112	Total-- 0	Total-- 112
Amegdoul	1	1	1	Grade 2-- 68	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 68
Amekhlif	2	2	2	Grade 2-- 48	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 48
				Grade 3-- 45	Grade 3-- 0	Grade 3-- 45
				Total-- 93	Total-- 0	Total-- 93
Amlougui*	2	1	2	Grade 2-- 95	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 95
Asguine	1	1	1	Grade 3-- 58	Grade 3-- 0	Grade 3-- 58
Erghef	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 36	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 36
Ighermane	2	2	2	Grade 3-- 40	Grade 3-- 0	Grade 3-- 40
				Grade 4-- 22	Grade 4-- 0	Grade 4-- 22
				Total-- 62	Total-- 0	Total-- 62
Khemis	1	1	1	Grade 2-- 36	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 36
Khoumes**	1	1	1	Grade 2-- 38	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 38
Mahout	2	2	2	Grade 2-- 125	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 125
Setti Fatma	2	2	2	Grade 2-- 83	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 83
Takatert (Central)	7	5	7	Grade 1-- 32	Grade 1-- 5	Grade 1-- 37
				Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 0
				Grade 3-- 51	Grade 3-- 5	Grade 3-- 56
				Grade 4-- 74	Grade 4-- 0	Grade 4-- 74
				Grade 5-- 59	Grade 5-- 0	Grade 5-- 59
				Total-- 216	Total-- 10	Total-- 226

TABLE III (continued)

School Location	No. of Classes	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	Enrollment Boys	Enrollment Girls	Enrollment Total
Tigmioumzine	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 59	Grade 1-- 59
				Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 36	Grade 2-- 36
				Total-- 0	Total-- 95	Total-- 95
Timalizene	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 35	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 35
				Grade 2-- 26	Grade 2-- 0	Grade 2-- 26
				Grade 3-- 10	Grade 3-- 0	Grade 3-- 10
				Total-- 71	Total-- 0	Total-- 71
Timichi	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 65	Grade 1-- 0	Grade 1-- 65
Totals	30	27	30	1,275	107	1,382

*One classroom collapsed due to heavy seasonal rains.

**Washed away in December, 1961.

TABLE IV

PUBLIC SCHOOL INFORMATION--1962-63

School Location	No. of Classes	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	Enrollment Boys	Enrollment Girls	Enrollment Total
Agaiouar	2	3	2	Grade 1-- 39	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 39
				Grade 2-- 42	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 42
				Total-- 81	Total--0	Total-- 81
Akhlif	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 36	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 36
				Grade 2-- 40	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 40
				Total-- 76	Total--0	Total-- 76
Amegdoul	1	1	1	Grade 2-- 50	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 50
Amekalif	2	2	2	Grade 3-- 38	Grade 3--0	Grade 3-- 38
				Grade 4-- 36	Grade 4--0	Grade 4-- 36
				Total-- 74	Total--0	Total-- 74
Amlougui	1	1	1	Grade 2-- 46	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 46
Asguine	2	2	2	Grade 2-- 32	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 32
				Grade 4-- 43	Grade 4--0	Grade 4-- 43
				Total-- 75	Total--0	Total-- 75
Erghef	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 47	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 47
Gouamane	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 43	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 43
Ighermane	2	2	2	Grade 4-- 36	Grade 4--0	Grade 4-- 36
				Grade 5-- 33	Grade 5--0	Grade 5-- 33
				Total-- 69	Total--0	Total-- 69
Khemis	1	1	1	Grade 1-- 39	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 39
Mahout	3	3	3	Grade 1-- 40	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 40
				Grade 4-- 35	Grade 4--0	Grade 4-- 35
				Grade 5-- 36	Grade 5--0	Grade 5-- 36
				Total-- 111	Total--0	Total-- 111
Setti Fatma	3	3	3	Grade 2-- 42	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 42
				Grade 4-- 37	Grade 4--0	Grade 4-- 37
				Grade 5-- 34	Grade 5--0	Grade 5-- 34
				Total-- 113	Total--0	Total-- 113

TABLE IV (continued)

School Location	No. of Classes	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	Enrollment Boys	Enrollment Girls	Enrollment Total
Takatert (Central)	7	5	7	Grade 1-- 59	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 59
				Grade 2-- 74	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 74
				Grade 3-- 30	Grade 3--0	Grade 3-- 30
				Grade 4-- 26	Grade 4--0	Grade 4-- 26
				Grade 5-- 32	Grade 5--5	Grade 5-- 37
				Total-- 221	Total--5	Total-- 226
Timalizene	2	2	2	Grade 1-- 40	Grade 1--0	Grade 1-- 40
				Grade 4-- 33	Grade 4--0	Grade 4-- 33
				Total-- 73	Total--0	Total-- 73
Timichi	1	1	1	Grade 2-- 51	Grade 2--0	Grade 2-- 51
Totals	31	30	31	1,169	5	1,174

TABLE V

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS ENROLLED

IN OURIKA SCHOOLS--1960-61*

Date of Birth	Age	No. Boys	No. Girls	Total No. Pupils
1946	14	15	0	15
1947	13	42	0	42
1948	12	47	0	47
1949	11	75	0	75
1950	10	145	11	156
1951	9	151	9	160
1952	8	301	27	328
1953	7	298	0	298
Totals		1,074	47	1,121

*Taken from the Moroccan national population census taken in November, 1960.

TABLE VI

TOTAL ENROLLMENT BY YEAR AND GRADE

1957-58 THROUGH 1962-63

Year	Grade	No. Boys	No. Girls	Total No. Pupils
1957-58	1	350	94	444
	2	172	0	172
	3	20	2	22
	Total	542	96	638
1958-59	1	433	94	527
	2	195	55	250
	3	79	0	79
	Total	707	149	856
1959-60		(Figures unavailable)		
1960-61*	Total	1,074	47	1,121
1961-62	1	268	66	334
	2	610	36	646
	3	242	5	247
	4	96	0	96
	5	59	0	59
	Total	1,275	107	1,382
1962-63	1	343	0	343
	2	377	0	377
	3	68	0	68
	4	246	0	246
	5	135	5	140
	Total	1,169	5	1,174

*Taken from the Moroccan national population census taken in November, 1960.

TABLE VII

DISTANCE IN MILES OF OTHER SCHOOLS FROM CENTRAL SCHOOL IN TAKATERT*

School Location	No. of Miles
Agaiouar	20
Akhlif	3
Amegdoul	14
Amekhlif	6
Amlougui	21
Asguine	7
Erghef	11
Gouamane	24
Ighermane	10
Khemis	3
Khoumes	14
Mahout	7
Setti Fatma	18
Tigmioumzine	3
Timalizene	6
Timichi	27

*This information is significant because many schools may be reached only by foot paths or on mule back.

TABLE VIII

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS TAKING EXAMINATION IN 1961 FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DIPLOMA*

Year of Birth	Approximate Age	Boys	Girls	Total
1950	11	7	1	8
1949	12	8	1	9
1948	13	4	0	4
1947	14	1	0	1
1946	15	2	0	2
1945	16	4	0	4
1944	17	0	0	0
Totals		26	2	28

*Information was unavailable on the number in each age group who passed the examination.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF FREE LUNCHES SUPPLIED TO STUDENTS
1957-58 THROUGH 1962-63

Year	Lunches per Day	Lunches per Year	Per Cent of Student Enrollment
1957-1958	126	22,680	20
1958-1959	(Figures unavailable)		
1959-1960	(Figures unavailable)		
1960-1961	(Figures unavailable)		
1961-1962	292	52,560	21
1962-1963	336	60,480	29

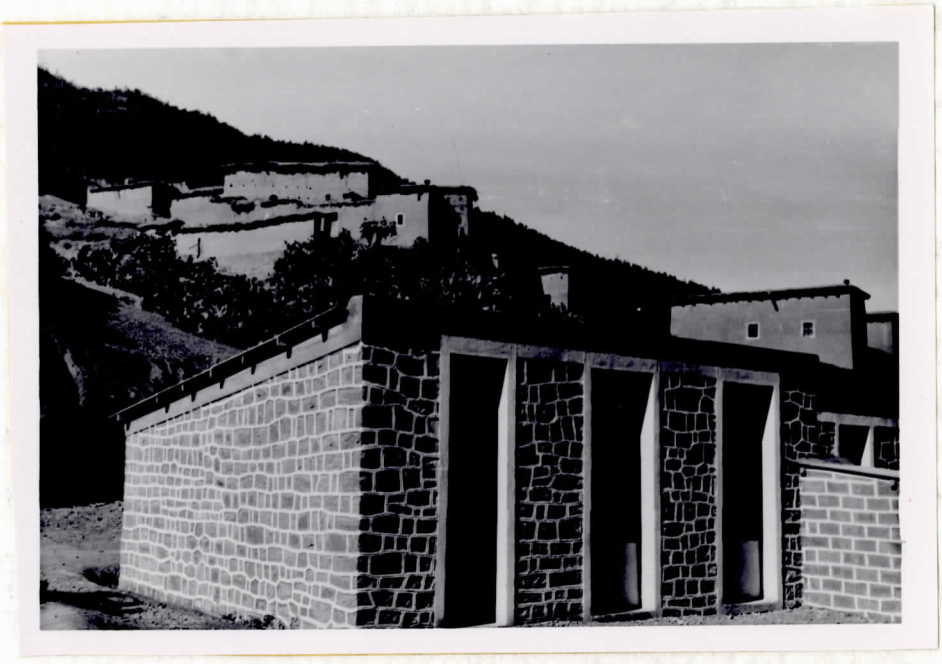


Figure 114. A wing of a new elementary school showing the teacher's living quarters. This school was constructed in 1961 of native-cut stone. The houses of the village in the background are constructed of pressed mud.

II. SOME COURSES OF STUDIES

A study of the official curriculum was made to understand the educational objectives of the state as outlined by the Ministry of Education. Definite guidelines for use of time were given, but the teacher was required to devise a weekly teaching schedule for himself. Examples of these schedules were included and served as a point of reference during the study. The total curriculum reflects the desire on the part of the state (1) to teach the state religion; (2) to indoctrinate students in the value and function of the state and state institutions; (3) to impart knowledge of state geography and history; (4) to teach the speaking, reading, and writing of Arabic and French; and (5) to teach the fundamentals of arithmetic and the basic principles and skills of personal hygiene and social responsibility. The Arabic language was taught exclusively in grades one and two, with a limited amount of French taught in grades three through five where classes were combined and no special teachers of French could be made available. In these schools, from three hours and forty-five minutes to four hours per week were devoted to teaching French. In the central school, where there is sufficient enrollment to warrant specialized classes, French is taught for a total of fifteen hours each week. This includes time spent in teaching mathematics, which is taught in French. All other subjects are taught in Arabic during a total of fifteen hours each week. This gives the students a school week consisting of thirty hours.

It is difficult to evaluate the total curriculum as to whether or not the stated program meets the objectives of the state. It is obvious,

however, that the curriculum calls for great emphasis on the learning of the Koran and the religion of Islam. A major portion of time is also spent in teaching reading, the language arts, and mathematics. Very little time is scheduled for teaching science. The teaching of French holds a relatively large block of time in the curriculum.[4] In practice, most effort and time are spent in learning to read and write Arabic and French, in memorizing the Koran, and in learning to calculate, with very little time spent on any other studies. No attempt was made to evaluate the effect of the teaching of the Koran. The fact that it holds such a prominent place in the curriculum appears to be a result of the influence of the many who, in times past, received their training in traditional Koranic schools of the nation and attempt to influence the present young generation to keep them from casting off many aspects of the faith of Islam.[5]

As far as could be determined, there was very little opportunity for creativity in any subject area except for writing an essay; and, although the curriculum guide encourages this type of activity, the practice observed was the recitation of lessons learned. There was also a marked lack of opportunity for students to engage in creative thinking and discussion. Students were told what to learn and what to think, with most of the school day spent in reciting what had been learned.

---

[4]Ministry of Education, Elementary School Curriculum Guide, pp. 1-88.

[5]Interview held with Mr. Haddan, Director of Teachers Training School, Marrakech, July 8, 1962.

Motivation appeared to come from a desire to escape from the harsh life in the tribe through gaining an education, and from the stern discipline imposed by the teachers. A strong stick was prominent in each classroom visited. Students were eager to recite and were able to do so from memory when called on.

Translations of major portions of the curriculum were obtained and are included in this report in order to give a more complete picture of the school program. Portions of the instructions to teachers indicate an attempt to convey elementary principles of the philosophy of teaching to teachers who have not learned them previously.[6] Areas of the curriculum included in the study are the Koran, religion, character education, national education, composition, and some general instruction on teaching the Arabic language.

The portions of the curriculum included in this report were extracted from the Elementary School Curriculum Guide, published in 1960.[7]

---

[6]Interview held with Mr. Yasin, Inspector of Schools for the region of Marrakech, February 17, 1963.

[7]Ministry of Education, Elementary School Curriculum Guide (Marrakech, Morocco, 1960).

Religion: "Islam and the Commandments":

Grade I:

Week	Subject
1	Commandments of Islam.
2	Commandments of Islam.
3	Explanation of first five commandments.
4	Alms (explanation).
5	Fasting (explanation).
6	Pilgrimage.
7	Review.
8	How to wash for prayer.
9	How to wash for prayer.
10	Purpose of washing for prayer: a. to be clean b. discipline c. physical alertness.
11	How to lose the effect of washing: a. discharge from excretory organs b. sleeping.
12	How to clean after excreting.
13	How to use stone or water for cleansing.
14	Review.
15	How to find suitable water for washing.
16	Unsuitable water for washing for prayer.
17	How to do the five prayers.
18	Memorize chapters for prayer.
19	Explanation of past lessons.
20	How to do morning prayer.
21	How to do noon prayer.
22	How to do afternoon prayer.
23	How to do sundown prayer.
24	How to do night prayer.
25	Review five prayers.
26	Review five prayers.
27	Things which void a prayer: a. eating b. laughing c. improper control of hands and feet d. talking e. Refer to other lessons on prayer.
28	Calling for prayer and explanation.
29	How to start prayer.
30	Review.

Religion: "Islam and the Commandments":

Grade II:

Week	Subject
1	Review of Grade I.
2	Review of Grade I.
3	Review of Grade I.
4	Review of Grade I.
5	Review of Grade I.
6	Review of Grade I.
7	To know God.
8	To love and obey God.
9	Mystery of God: a. only one b. does not need help from anyone c. knows all d. does all e. listening to God f. talking to God g. on seeing God.
10	Messengers of God.
11	Mystery of messengers.
12	Washing and prayer.
13	What we must do in washing.
14	What we must do when washing.
15	Times for prayer, number of times a day, and number of prostrations in prayer.
16	First Commandment (explanation).
17	How to ask God for something.
18	How to be sure your prayer is proper.
19	What to do in prayer.
20	What to do in prayer.
21	Write composition about religion.
22	How to act in prayer.
23	Things which void a prayer.
24	A silent prayer, a spoken prayer.
25	Review.
26	Gabriel first speaks to Mohammed; Gabriel speaks to Mohammed and tells him to read.
27	Mohammed begins to believe.
28	Mohammed asks Gabriel to explain good and evil.
29	Mohammed asks how Gabriel saw him but he did not see Gabriel.
30	Mohammed asks about judgment day.

Religion: "Islam and the Commandments":

Grade III:

Week	Subject
1	Review words of Gabriel.
2	God, the Creator.
3	Mystery of God.
4	The Believer.
5	Books of heaven.
6	Duty of angels.
7	Messenger's duty.
8	Judgment day.
9	Judgment day: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
10	Washing: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
11	Process of washing: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
12	Acts voiding washing: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
13	How to clean by water or stone: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
14	Proper way to excrete body wastes.
15	Review.
16	Calling for prayer.
17	Understanding the call for prayer.
18	What must be done in making calls for prayer.
19	Prayers which must be made.
20	Prayers requested by Mohammed.
21	Public prayer.
22	Friday prayer.
23	How to begin and end Friday prayer.
24	Two feast prayers: a. "Ramadan" (Aid Eseghier) b. Pilgrimage (Aid el Kebeer).
25	Physical effects of prayer.
26	Fasting: a. meaning of fasting b. time for fasting.
27	Actions which void effects of fasting.
28	Health effects of fasting.
29	Physical effects of fasting.
30	Review.

Religion: "Islam and the Commandments":

Grade IV:

Week	Subject
1	The Believer.
2	Mystery of God.
3	Messengers and prophets (difference between them).
4	What you must do and what you cannot do as a believer.
5	Review washing: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
6	What you may do for washing if water or clean stone is not available (for example, one may use sand or dirt).
7	What you must do to become a believer.
8	Review prayers: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
9	Prayers requested by Mohammed.
10	What may be done while in prayer (what interruptions are allowed or exceptions made if someone comes to door, a snake is seen, etc.).
11	What may not be done in prayer (refrain from evil thoughts and desire for women).
12	Review prayers.
13	How to pray in advance of regular prayer and when you may make short prayer (cold, hungry, afraid, sick, or are taking a trip of more than three days).
14	Death prayer.
15	What is said in death prayer.
16	Purpose of special evening Ramadan prayer.
17	Review of four previous lessons.
18	What to do if you forget in prayer.
19	What to do if you missed a prayer.
20	What God says about one who does not pray.
21	How to fast.
22	What God says on fasting.
23	What voids fasting.
24	Exceptions on fasting.
25	Discussion on fasting.
26	Tithe.
27	What God says on tithe.

Religion--Grade IV (continued):

Week	Subject
28	Tithe of month of Ramadan (each person must give two kilos of flour to poor).
29	To whom tithe is given.
30	Review of tithe items.

Religion: "Islam and the Commandments":

Grade V:

Week	Subject
1	How to know God.
2	Miracles of God.
3	Koran.
4	Parts of religious law.
5	How to wash the body for ablution in: a. feast prayer b. Friday prayer c. after sexual intercourse.
6	When to wash.
7	Purpose of washing.
8	Washing after sexual intercourse.
9	When stone may be used for washing for prayer.
10	How to use the stone: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
11	Review.
12	Review.
13	What to do if nose bleeds during prayer.
14	Review of fasting; what is right, what is wrong.
15	Review of fasting: a. what God says b. what Mohammed says.
16	What law says of one who does not observe Ramadan.
17	Review of tithing.
18	How to tithe and to whom.
19	Tithing of sheep and cattle.
20	Tithe on camels.
21	Review.
22	Pilgrimage and time of pilgrimage.
23	Preparation for pilgrimage.

Religion--Grade V (continued):

Week	Subject
24	What must be done in pilgrimage.
25	Review.
26	Acts which void the pilgrimage.
27	Acts which void the pilgrimage. A man's moustache must be trimmed modestly. Men must shave their head and pubic hair before pilgrimage. If he cannot shave, he may make gift to poor.
28	How to visit Mohammed's grave.
29	What Koran says about pilgrimage.
30	How to do the pilgrimage.

Composition--Grades IV and V.

Knowledge of composition helps a student to organize, to transcribe, or to speak what he thinks; to describe what he sees; and to tell correctly what he hears. Composing is good experience because it helps the student to think clearly and correctly. Students should be encouraged to write about practical things. The content should be taken from scenes or stories. Most of the latter should be about students in the house, the school, and the community, and should be connected with science and reading lessons. Some examples of topics on which a student may be instructed to write a composition are as follows: the playground; recess and the school; the good student; the cat; the mouse and the cat; the poor man in the rain; a blind boy; the crowded street or community; a village or city; the countryside on a spring day; the doctor, the barber, or a chosen profession. The writing of letters from friend to friend should be encouraged. Examples of topics for this are as follows: a trip on the river or in the forest; a ride on the train; or a river with which the student is familiar. Examples of deeper subjects are: compare two birds, one in a cage and one free; a talk between a poor man and a rich man; and a farmer telling about his farm. The student may be instructed to write a letter of congratulations to a friend, a letter of condolence, or many more types of letters and papers in which his thoughts may be put on paper.

Character Training and National Education.

The teacher should always remember the importance of his job concerning this most important aspect of child training in order that the student may become a useful, responsible citizen. The future of his country depends upon the way you as a teacher help him fully to understand his duties and obligations. What he does will reflect upon himself, his community, and his country for good or for evil. Teachers should faithfully carry out the trust that is theirs, remembering that impressing students of this age is like carving in granite. With this in mind, it is important that teachers remember the following rules:

1. Serve as an example. A teacher should exemplify what he is talking about.

2. Be clean and honest. Be a good Moslem and keep promises in word and in deed. Be a gentleman in all things.

3. Always connect the laws of the Koran with national education lesson.

4. Use simple stories to illustrate important events.

5. Recognize students who are good citizens.

6. Encourage students to refrain from bad actions and give examples of consequences of bad behavior.

7. Teach in such a manner that the student will be interested.

8. Connect history, reading, songs, and many other things in teaching national education.

Character Training.

Grade I:

Section I--"Cleanliness."

a. Body.
b. How to be healthy.
c. Results of physical activities.
d. Cleanliness of clothes.
e. Cleanliness in the home.
f. Cleanliness on the street.

Section II--"Orderliness and Cleanliness."

a. Keeping school equipment clean and in order.
b. How to keep the home orderly and clean.
c. The importance of eating on time.
d. Be on time.

Section III--"Obedience."

a. Obedience to God.
b. Obedience to parents.
c. Respect for teachers.

Section IV--"Manners."

a. In the home.
b. In the school.
c. On the playground.
d. When eating and drinking.
e. In your room.
f. On the street.
g. Away from home and school.

Section V--"Truth."

a. Advantages of telling the truth.
b. Results of lies.
c. Don't tell falsehoods on others.

Section VI--"Honesty."

a. Advantages of honesty.
b. Respect for the property of others.

Character Training--Grade I (continued):

Section VII--"Alms."

a. Helping the poor.
b. Helping aged and crippled.
c. Helping the blind.

Section VIII--"Proper Care of Animals."

a. Use of animals.
b. The care and humane treatment of animals.

Character Training.

Grade II:

Section I--"Manners on the Road."

a. Walking on the sidewalks.
b. Avoid dangers.
c. Respect traffic policemen.
d. Do not talk loudly or use bad words.
e. Do not spit on the streets or scatter trash.

Section II--"Manners in Greeting."

a. Greeting parents.
b. Greeting teachers.
c. Greeting of friends and strangers.

Section III--"Manners in Speaking."

a. Listen quietly when others are talking.
b. Do not interrupt.
c. Respect the ideas of others.
d. Be concise.

Section IV--"Manners in Visiting."

a. Good relationship should come from visits.
b. Visiting relatives.
c. Visiting relatives and friends on feast days and holidays.
d. How to visit the sick.

Character Training--Grade II (continued):

Section V--"Manners While Playing."

a. Manners in playing with friends.
b. Choosing good games.
c. Dangers of fire and sharp objects.
d. Stay away from gambling in all things.

Section VI--"Manners at Work."

a. One must work.
b. How we depend upon others in work.
c. Be honest in all work.
d. Effects of one who does not do his share.

Section VII--"Watch Your Talking."

a. The importance of what we say.
b. Do not talk behind one's back.
c. Do not use bad language.

Section VIII--"How to Be Contented."

a. Money does not bring happiness.
b. Do not covet the wealth of others.
c. Be content with what is yours.

Character Training.

Grade III:

Section I--"Treatment of Parents."

a. In religion.
b. The parents' role in the character training of children.
c. Parents work hard in order for children to be happy.
d. What children should do for parents.
e. Treatment of brothers.

Section II--"Forgiveness."

a. Jealousy.
b. Keep calm.
c. Be pleasant.

Character Training--Grade III (continued):

Section III--"Honesty and Fairness."

a. Hypocrisy.
b. Fairness with God.
c. Do not be self centered.
d. Be considerate of others.

Section IV--"Honor."

a. Respect yourself and others will respect you.
b. Deal with honest people.
c. Have high standards.
d. Speak frankly and honestly.

Section V--"Remain Steadfast."

a. Patience.
b. Endurance.
c. Be optimistic.
d. Be serious in labor.

Section VI--"Courage."

a. How to be courageous.
b. Give of one's self.
c. When and how to defend oneself.

Section VII--"Responsibility toward the Group."

a. Dependence upon others.
b. Our responsibility toward members of the community.
c. Responsibility toward the aged and poor.
d. Importance of the individual in the community.

Section VIII--"Charity."

a. Offer assistance to others.
b. Do not be a miser.
c. Do not waste money.

Character Training.

Grade IV:

Section I--"Proper Relationship with Parents."

a. Obligation to parents.
b. Effort of parents in rearing children.

Section II--"Respecting Others."

a. The need for respect of others.
b. Advantages in being friendly with others.

Section III--"Manners While Visiting." Purpose of visits

a. For happy occasions.
b. When offering sympathy or condolences.

Section IV--"Promptness in Appointments."

a. Respect for the time of others.
b. Return favors.

Section V--"Respect Confidences."

a. How to respect confidence.
b. How to be friendly with others.
c. How to choose friends and shun evil companions.
d. Be thrifty.
e. How to budget.
f. Balance between being a thrifty person and a miser.
g. What happens to those who are wasteful.

Section VI--General Review; choose good examples.

Character Training.

Grade V:

Section I--"Manners."

a. Manners in the home and in public places.
b. Love and helping others.
c. The proper care of clothing.

Character Training--Grade V (continued):

d. Do not talk excessively.
e. Do not disturb others.

Section II--"Unity."

a. Advantages of working in unity.
b. Unity gives larger force.
c. Use example of other units.

Section III--"Justice."

a. The importance of justice.
b. Injustices.

Section IV--"Jealousy."

a. Be virtuous.
b. Remain in good spirits.
c. Be willing to forgive.

Section V--"Humility."

a. Respect and help others.
b. Put nation first.

Section VI--General Review; choose good examples.

National Education.

Grades I and II:

Section I--"Family."

a. Parents.
b. Brothers.
c. Relatives.

Section II--"School."

a. Principal.
b. Teachers.
c. Friends.
d. School rules.

Section III--"Community."

a. Neighbors.
b. Discipline in the streets.

Section IV--"Your Village or City."

a. Mosque.
b. Hospital.
c. Public garden.
d. Policemen.
e. Other law enforcement agencies.
f. Respect for cemetery.

Section V--"Nation."

a. My nation is Morocco; I love my nation.
b. Why I like my birthplace.
c. Land of ancestors.
d. What my country does for me.
e. Scenes of my country.
f. Language and religion of my nation.

Section VI--"The King."

a. The King of my nation.
b. The flag.
c. The nation's army.

National Education--Grades I and II (continued):

Section VII--"National Holidays."

a. "Aid Esseghier" (Feast of Ramadan).
b. "Aid el Kebeer" (Pilgrimage feast).
c. "Melood" (birthday of Mohammed).
d. Coronation Day.
e. Birth of the nation.
f. Independence Day.

National Education.

Grade III:

Section I--"Family." How to treat parents and relatives.

Section II--"Schools."

a. Purpose of schools in a nation.
b. Discipline in schools.
c. Respect for school personnel.

Section III--"Public Institutions." How they are operated and maintained.

Section IV--"Village and City."

a. Traffic rules.
b. Cleanliness of streets.
c. Respect orders of public officials.

Section V--"Business Establishments."

a. Trade in the countryside.
b. Village and city markets.

Section VI--"Public Institutions and Organizations."

a. Hospital.
b. Fire Department.
c. Sports teams.
d. Scouts.
e. Public gardens.
f. Public facilities.

National Education--Grade III (continued):

g. Post Office.
h. Police station.
i. Municipal buildings.
j. Care of forests and reforestation.

National Education.

Grade IV:

1. Head of the nation.
2. Government and head of government.
3. Ministers and secretaries of the government.
4. Foreign minister.
5. National economy and trade.
6. National education.
7. Interior minister.
8. Public works.
9. Justice.
10. Work and welfare affairs.
11. Agriculture.
12. Defense.
13. Health.
14. Post, telegraph, and telephone.
15. National security.
16. Endowments.

National Education.

Grade V:

1. Nationality and nation.
2. The King.
3. Legislature.
4. Executive.
5. Judicial.
6. Democracy.
7. Constitution.
8. Parliament.
9. Voting.
10. Municipal and village committees.
11. Supreme Government Council.

National Education--Grade V (continued):

12. Government regional representatives (governors, caids, pashas, judges, security control).
13. Ambassadors.
14. Unions.
15. Manufacturing and trade.

The Koran (A study by chapters according to a weekly schedule).

Grade I:

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
1	Overview of The Koran.
2	I and CXIV--"Men."
3	CXII--"The Unity."
4	CXI--"Abu Lahab"; XCIV--"The Opening."
5	CIX--"Unbelievers"; and review.
6	CVIII--"The Abundance."
7	CV--"The Elephant"; CVI--"The Koreisch"
8	CIII--"The Afternoon"
9	CVIII--"The Abundance"; and review.
10	CI--"The Blow."
11	XCIX--"The Earthquake."
12	LXXXII--"The Cleaving."
13	XCVII--"Power."
14	XCVI--"Thick Blood or Clots of Blood."
15	XCV--"The Fig."
16	XCIII--"The Brightness."
17	XCIII--"The Brightness."
18	XCII--"The Night."
19	XCI--"The Sun."
20	XC--"The Soil."
21	LXXXIX--"The Daybreak."
22	LXXXIX--"The Daybreak."
23	Review.
24	LXXXVIII--"The Overshadowing."
25	LXXXVIII--"The Overshadowing."
26	LXXXVII--"The Most High."
27	LXXXIII--"Those Who Stint."
28	LXIX--"The Inevitable."
29	LXIX--"The Inevitable."
30	LI--"The Scattering"; and review.

Grade II:

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
1	Review of Grade I.
2	CIX--"Unbelievers"; CVIII--"The Abundance."
3	CVIII--"The Abundance"; XCVII--"Power."
4	XCVII--"Power"; XCIII--"The Brightness."
5	XCIII--"The Brightness"; LXXXI--"The Folded Up."

The Koran--Grade II (continued):

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
6	LXXXI--"The Folded Up"; LXXXIII--"Those Who Stint."
7	LXXXIII--"Those Who Stint"; LI--"The Scattering."
8	General review.
9	LXXV--"The Resurrection."
10	LXXV--"The Resurrection."
11	LXXV--"The Resurrection."
12	LXXVI--"Man."
13	LXXVI--"Man."
14	LXXVI--"Man."
15	LXXVI--"Man."
16	LXXVII--"The Sent."
17	LXXVII--"The Sent."
18	LXXVII--"The Sent."
19	LXXVIII--"The News."
20	LXXXVIII--"The Overshadowing."
21	LXXXVIII--"The Overshadowing."
22	LXXXVIII--"The Overshadowing."
23	LXXXVIII--"The Overshadowing."
24	LXXX--"He Frowned."
25	LXXX--"He Frowned."
26	LXXXI--"The Folded Up."
27	LXXXI--"The Folded Up."
28	LXXXIII--"Those Who Stint."
29	LXXXIII--"Those Who Stint."
30	LXXXIII--"Those Who Stint."

Grade III:

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
1	Review of Grade II.
2	Review of Grade II.
3	Review of Grade II.
4	Review of Grade II.
5	Review of Grade II.
6	Review of Grade II.
7	Review of Grade II.
8	Review of Grade II.
9	LXVII--"The Kingdom."
10	LXVII--"The Kingdom."
11	LXVII--"The Kingdom."
12	LXVII--"The Pen."

The Koran--Grade III (continued):

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
13	LXVII--"The Pen."
14	LXVII--"The Pen."
15	LXIX--"The Inevitable."
16	LXIX--"The Inevitable."
17	LXIX--"The Inevitable."
18	LXX--"The Steps or Ascents."
19	LXX--"The Steps or Ascents."
20	LXXI--"Noah."
21	LXXI--"Noah."
22	LXXI--"Noah."
23	LXXI--"Noah."
24	LXXII--"Djinn."
25	LXXII--"Djinn."
26	LXXIII--"The Enfolded."
27	LXXIII--"The Enfolded."
28	LXXIII--"The Enfolded."
29	LXXIV--"The Enwrapped."
30	LXXIV--"The Enwrapped."

Grade IV:

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
1	Review of Grade III.
2	Review of Grade III.
3	Review of Grade III.
4	Review of Grade III.
5	Review of Grade III.
6	Review of Grade III.
7	Review of Grade III.
8	Review of Grade III.
9	LVIII--"She Who Pleaded."
10	LVIII--"She Who Pleaded."
11	LVIII--"She Who Pleaded."
12	LVIII--"She Who Pleaded."
13	LIX--"The Emigration."
14	LIX--"The Emigration."
15	LIX--"The Emigration."
16	LIX--"The Emigration."
17	LXI--"Battle Array."
18	LXI--"Battle Array."
19	LXI--"Battle Array."
20	LXI--"Battle Array."

The Koran--Grade IV (continued):

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
21	LXIII--"The Hypocrites."
22	LXIII--"The Hypocrites."
23	LXIII--"The Hypocrites."
24	LXIV--"Mutual Deceit."
25	LXIV--"Mutual Deceit."
26	LXV--"Divorce."
27	LXV--"Divorce."
28	LXV--"Divorce."
29	Review.
30	Review.

Grade V:

Week	Chapter ("Sura")
1	LV--"The Merciful."
2	LV--"The Merciful."
3	LV--"The Merciful."
4	LV--"The Merciful."
5	LVI--"The Inevitable."
6	LVI--"The Inevitable."
7	LVI--"The Inevitable."
8	LVI--"The Inevitable."
9	LVII--"Iron."
10	LVII--"Iron."
11	LVII--"Iron."
12	LVII--"Iron."
13	LVII--"Iron."
14	General review of The Koran.
15	General review of The Koran.
16	General review of The Koran.
17	General review of The Koran.
18	General review of The Koran.
19	General review of The Koran.
20	General review of The Koran.
21	General review of The Koran.
22	General review of The Koran.
23	General review of The Koran.
24	General review of The Koran.
25	General review of The Koran.
26	General review of The Koran.
27	General review of The Koran.
28	General review of The Koran.
29	General review of The Koran.
30	General review of The Koran.

Arabic (General instructions).

The study of the Arabic language is designed to teach students to speak and to write correctly in order that they may express themselves fluently and that they may profit from past and present writings in order to preserve their unique culture. The ability to read Arabic fluently is basic to progress in all other subjects. Reading and writing Arabic is essential. It is the key to all other doors. It enables one to make use of many thoughts and ideas. Teaching the language is difficult because of the difficulty of the Arabic alphabet, the age of the children, and also because the attention span of children is short. There are many ways to teach reading and writing, and all of them are based on phonics. Success, as in all aspects of teaching, depends upon the dedication, preparation, education, and enthusiasm of teachers. We would like to give some directions to teachers:

Use pictures. Pictures attract the attention of students and are easy to understand. Connect a picture with the word. Students like motion activity. Write the alphabet in the air; sound the letters and ask the students to do likewise. This is effective because of the coordination of the brain, eye, hand, and voice. Show the use of letters in many words. Use the alphabet in simple words which are spoken and written by the students. In the beginning, repeat letters often. Try to keep the attention of all the students by placing letters they like in many words. Use wire and stiff paper to make letters for words. Use letters they know first. Make practical use of letters. Use letters they know to build longer words. End a lesson in a dictation exercise.

TABLE X

WEEKLY SCHEDULE--GRADE I

Weekly Requirement			Schedule of Classes														
Time			Day	Minutes													
Hrs.	Mins.	Curriculum	of Wk.	20	20	25	15	30	30	30	20	20	25	15	30	30	30
5		Koran	Mon.	Koran	Copy & Exer. for Wrtg.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Songs	Read.	Arith.	Koran	Draw.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Arith.	Dict. Wrtg.	Read.
	30	Religion															
	30	Natl. Ed. & Char. Trng.															
5		Reading															
	30	Songs	Tues.	Koran	Copy & Exer. for Wrtg.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Reli-gion	Read.	Arith.	Koran	Handi-crfts.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Arith.	Dict. Wrtg.	Read.
4	10	Conver-sational															
1	15	Dictation															
1	15	Writing															
1	40	Copy & Exercise															
5		Arithme-tic	Wed.	Koran	Copy & Exer. for Wrtg.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	P.E.	Read.	Arith.	Koran	Draw.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Arith.	Dict. Wrtg.	Read.
1		Drawing															
	40	Handi-craft															
1		P.E. & Anthem	Thurs.	Koran	Copy & Exer. for Wrtg.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Char. Trng. & Natl. Ed.	Read.	Arith.	Koran	Handi-crfts.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Arith.	Dict. Wrtg.	Read.
2	30	Recess															
			Sat.	Koran	Copy & Exer. for Wrtg.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	P.E.	Read.	Arith.	Koran	Draw.	Conver-satnl.	Recess	Arith.	Dict. Wrtg.	Read.
30 Hours Total																	

TABLE XI

WEEKLY SCHEDULE--GRADE II

Weekly Requirement			Schedule of Classes													
Time			Day	Minutes												
Hrs.	Mins.	Curriculum	of Wk.	15	30	30	15	30	30	30	45	30	15	15	30	45
5		Koran	Mon.	Koran Review	Draw.	Songs	Recess	Arith.	Dict.	Read.	Koran	Arith.	Recess	Writ.	Read.	Conversatnl
1		Religion														
1		Char. Trng. & Natl. Ed.														
5		Reading														
1 3	45	Songs Conversation	Tues.	Koran Review	Songs	P.E.	Recess	Arith.	Dict.	Read.	Koran	Arith.	Recess	Writ.	Read.	Conversatnl
1	30	Dictation														
1	15	Writing														
5		Arithmetic														
1		Drawing	Wed.	Koran Review	Char. Trng. & Natl. Ed.	Handicrft	Recess	Arith.	Religion	Read.	Koran	Arith.	Recess	Writ.	Read.	Conversatnl
	30	Handicraft														
1	30	P.E. & Anthems														
2	30	Recess														
			Thurs.	Koran Review	Draw.	Songs	Recess	Arith.	Dict.	Read.	Koran	Arith.	Recess	Writ.	Read.	Conversatnl
			Sat.	Koran Review	Char. Trng. & Natl. Ed.	P.E. Anthem	Recess	Arith.	Religion	Read.	Koran	Arith.	Recess	Writ.	Read.	Conversatnl
30 Hours Total																

TABLE XII

WEEKLY SCHEDULE--GRADE III

Weekly Requirement			Schedule of Classes										
Time			Day	Minutes									
Hrs.	Mins.	Curriculum	of Wk.	30	45	15	30	60		30	45	15	45	45
5		Koran	Mon.	Songs	Conversation & Sentence Construction	Recess	Koran	French		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Grammar	Reading
1		Religion												
1		Char. Trng & Natl. Ed.												
3	45	Reading												
	30	Songs	Tues.	Character Training & Natl. Ed.	Geography	Recess	Koran	French & Drawing		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Dict. & Writing	Reading
1	30	Sentence Construction & Conversation												
1		Dictation	Wed.	Religion	Conversation & Sentence Construction	Recess	Koran	French & Handicraft		Koran	Arith.	Recess	P.E. & Anthem	Reading
	30	Writing												
1	30	Grammar												
3	45	Arithmetic												
	45	Science												
	45	History												
	45	Geography	Thurs.	Character Training & Natl. Ed.	Science	Recess	Koran	French & Drawing		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Grammar	Reading
	30	Drawing												
	30	Handicrafts												
	45	P.E. & Anthems												
4		French	Sat.	Religion	History	Recess	Koran	French & Drawing		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Dict. & Writing	Reading
2	30	Recess												
30 Hours Total														

TABLE XIII

WEEKLY SCHEDULE--GRADES IV AND V

Weekly Requirement			Schedule of Classes											
Time			Day	Minutes										
Hrs.	Mins.	Curriculum	of Wk.	30	45	15	30	60		30	45	15	30	60
5		Koran	Mon.	Koran	French	Recess	P.E.	Religion		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Dictation	Grammar
1		Religion												
1		Character Trng. & Natl. Ed.												
3		Reading												
	30	Songs	Tues.	Koran	French	Recess	Character Trng. & Natl. Ed.	History		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Character Trng. & Natl. Ed.	Reading
	30	Dictation												
1	30	Grammar												
1	30	Writing												
1	30	Composition												
3	45	Arithmetic	Wed.	Koran	French	Recess	Drawing & Handicrafts	Science		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Grammar	Reading
1		Science												
1		History												
1		Geography												
	30	Drawing												
1		P.E. & Anthems	Thurs.	Koran	French	Recess	P.E.	Geography		Koran	Arith.	Recess	Composition	
3	45	French												
2	30	Recess												
			Sat.	Koran	French	Recess	Writing			Koran	Arith.	Recess	Songs	Reading
30 Hours Total														

TABLE XIV

WEEKLY SCHEDULE--GRADE V (USED WITH FRENCH LANGUAGE PROGRAM)

Weekly Requirement			Schedule of Classes						
Time			Day	Minutes					
Hrs.	Mins.	Curriculum	of Wk.	30	30	15		30	30
2	30	Koran	Mon.	Koran	Religion		Recess	Dictation	Reading
	45	Religion							
	45	Natl. Ed.							
2	30	Reading							
	30	Poetry							
	30	Dictation							
1	30	Grammar	Tues.	Koran	Reading	History	Recess	History	Grammar
3		Writing							
	45	History							
	45	Georgraphy							
	30	P.E.							
1	15	Recess							
			Wed.	Koran	Poetry	Writing	Recess	Writing	Reading & Grammar Exercise
			Thurs.	Koran	P.E.	Geography	Recess	Geography	Writing
			Sat.	Koran	Writing	National Education	Recess	National Education	Reading & Writing Exercise
30 Hours Total									

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. FINDINGS

Members of the Berber tribe were found to be living in their isolated mountain region herding their flocks, farming their small fields, tending their fruit and nut trees, and producing many of their material needs in the manner of their ancestors. Although professing Islam, their social relationships were, to a large degree, influenced by a belief in mystic creatures and a fear of their powers. Locally elected members of the tribal communes were exerting an influence on tribal activities, especially upon the collection of taxes, the operation of the local market, and the settling of minor tribal disputes. The central government had assumed financial responsibility for the establishment and operation of the public schools and had made great progress in increasing the number of schools, teachers, and students. An increasing number of free lunches were also being furnished to students. The educational system was found, however, to be official, rigid, and highly centralized, with tribal members exerting very little influence and assuming little local responsibility. The method of instruction and the curriculum were influenced by the demands of higher educational institutions and not by the needs of tribal members. Girls were practically excluded from the educational program. Teachers were found to be ill prepared for their work in both quantity and quality of education.

Although a teachers college had been established for the southern region of Morocco, the program still lacked the most important aspect of encouraging teachers to learn about the problems and needs of their prospective students. The curriculum and method of instruction were designed to teach students to read, to write, and to memorize prescribed materials. Students were found to be engaged in cramming and memorizing facts which had little or no relation to their needs. Students were told what to think rather than taught how to think. No activities were planned and executed which would lead students to a personal plan for self-discipline and to a realization of the dignity of manual labor. The educational program has failed also in providing experiences which would lead to proper personal human relationships. It was noted that students who completed the prescribed courses and entered the secondary schools in Marrakech put on western clothes and generally began using tobacco and alcohol and spending leisure time sitting in cafes playing cards. When they did obtain jobs, it was a common practice for them to solicit bribes for the performance of their official functions.

II. CONCLUSIONS

If behavioral changes for a more desirable social reorganization--and if improvement in material culture for the masses is a part of that reorganization--are to be accepted as proof that an educational program is meeting the needs of a particular group, it is necessary to conclude from the study that the present system among the Ourika fails in many respects. Because of this failure to meet tribal needs, tribal members do not regard the school as essential, nor do they support it as they

should. Although the central government has made great progress in increasing the number of schools, teachers, and students, the present program fails to meet a number of apparent basic needs of the tribal citizens who are living a primitive way of life in their isolated mountain region. In spite of this primitive way of life, changes are coming to the tribe; and the schools can have a more realistic role in helping to bring about many more desirable changes. Some of these changes already in progress are: (1) the greater and more diversified production of crops for the truck markets of Marrakech; (2) the revival of rule by local committee; (3) the appropriation of funds by the central government for the operation of public schools; and (4) the many efforts of the central government to bring all citizens of Morocco into a stronger economic, social, and political union for greater national strength. Present economic and social conditions in the tribe could be improved by a more realistic and functional educational program. Improved methods in animal husbandry, agriculture, horticulture, food preservation, marketing of produce, soil conservation, and reforestation could lead to a more abundant life. A better understanding of the causes of disease, with an understanding of improved health practices, would also be helpful in developing and maintaining improved health. Greater comfort in living could be obtained by learning methods of improving homes and home furnishings. Family planning for offspring is necessary for improved economic conditions among tribal members. An improved attitude and practice in all tribal social relations, where each member is held in proper esteem by all other members and where each member contributes his fair share of labor, could come from an educational program which

utilizes or includes experiences for this purpose as a basic part of its program. The writer concluded, also, from this study that the school could be better designed to meet tribal needs by improvements in teacher education, by the education and recruitment of man-wife teaching teams, and by the establishment of a community council for school affairs to formulate objectives and to devise plans to achieve those objectives. Proper teacher education should enable prospective teachers to develop an understanding of all aspects of the life of the people among whom they are to work. There is far too great a tendency for an outside group to decide what educational program is best for a people and then to try to impose it upon that people. From the data secured by the study, the researcher concluded that it is imperative that this practice be avoided, even if progress is made more slowly. An indigenous program is more likely to produce success. A community council for school affairs, consisting of central government officials, local administrators, teachers, members of the local political tribal committees, members of the religious brotherhoods, and laymen, could develop a better educational system for the tribe which could do a great deal to overcome present deficiencies. It will be necessary for the members of the Ministry of Education to play an important role in proposing possibilities and alternatives for education, but the traditional democratic practices of the native Berber tribesmen, if recognized and encouraged, should be an effective force.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

In order that the objectives and procedures for meeting the objectives of the public schools of Ourika be altered better to meet the needs of the members of the tribe, the following recommendations are made:

1. The central government must continue to assume financial support to provide for teachers, school buildings, and as many materials of instruction as possible. Tribal members, however, must be encouraged to contribute as much as possible to the support of schools.

2. A community council for school affairs, consisting of officials from the central government, local school administrators, teachers, the two tribal presidents and the members from the committees of the two communes, members from the religious brotherhoods, and influential laymen, should be established to develop purposes and plans for the operation of tribal schools. The adoption of objectives and plans to meet those objectives should have the support of the majority of the council members and unanimous approval, if possible.

3. The teacher education program must provide opportunity for teachers in preparation to spend ample time among the people learning about the tribe and its problems and the problems of curriculum development. Man-wife teaching teams, educated and recruited to teach in tribal schools, could lend more stability and permanency as effective examples for community living.

4. A laboratory school should be established for the purpose of developing better methods for achieving educational goals, and to afford

prospective teachers an opportunity to see successful teachers teaching. This school could be enlarged as a central one to serve the students of the entire tribe who need extended and expanded educational opportunities and experiences not available in the smaller villages.

5. It is recommended that careful study be devoted to the formulation of objectives of education, and that the following suggestions for objectives and learning experiences be carefully considered:

a. The school program should provide experiences which foster greater self realization. In addition to providing students with opportunities for learning to speak, to read, to write, and to calculate effectively, the school must also provide opportunities and experiences which promote health and hygiene, both personal and public; a desire for more learning; the ability of perception and comprehension; and the bringing about of a general transformation of character.

b. The school program should provide activities which emphasize human relationships and civic responsibilities.

(1) Activities and experiences should be provided which would emphasize improvement in home construction and home furnishings.

(2) The school program should foster activities designed to put human relationships first, with each member of the family being held in high esteem by all other members of the family.

(3) Experiences leading to an understanding of a desire to alleviate human disparities should be an integral part of the school program.

c. The school program should contribute to the economic efficiency of the people.

(1) Studies in the improvement of herding and grazing should be fostered.

(2) Functional work in animal husbandry should be developed.

(3) Activities in improved methods of farming and gardening should be a part of the school program.

(4) A study of the needs of the market, the preparation of produce for the market, and marketing should be emphasized.

(5) Work in food preservation, taking into account available materials and methods, should be instituted.

(6) Experimentation in horticulture should be introduced.

(7) Activities in soil conservation should be stressed.

(8) Functional practices in reforestation should be included in the school program.

6. For further aid in the development of objectives for an educational program which is designed to give the fullest possible development of the individual, it is recommended that statements of educational objectives formulated for similar situations elsewhere be carefully studied and evaluated.

7. A continuous study of educational objectives and methods to achieve those objectives should be made. The curriculum would then be

continually refined in the light of experience in providing functional experiences for the realization of the objectives. It is likely that much of the present content would be revised. Since this would be done by the community council for school affairs, there would be greater acceptance of the program by tribal members. Through these democratic experiences in dealing with the school, skills can and will be developed in the handling of other tribal and governmental affairs. This will, no doubt, contribute to the success of the constitutional monarchy among the Berbers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashford, Douglas E. Political Change in Morocco. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Background--Three New African Nations: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya. A Report Prepared by the Department of State, Publication 6567. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957.

Barden, John Glenn. A Suggested Program of Teacher Training for Mission Schools among the Batetela. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College of Columbia University, 1941.

Coon, Carleton Stevens. Harvard African Studies. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1931.

Editors of LIFE MAGAZINE. The Epic of Man. New York: Time, Inc., 1961.

Elementary School Curriculum Guide. Ministry of Education, Marrakech Region, 1960.

Epton, Nina. Saints and Sorcerers, a Moroccan Journey. London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1958.

Galwash, Ahmad A. The Religion of Islam. Columbus, Ohio: American Education Press, 1947.

Harcourt, Gustave. Morocco--an Outline of History. Rabat, Morocco: United States Operations Mission, 1960.

Helser, Albert D. Education of Primitive People. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1934.

Hitti, Philip K. The Arabs: a Short History. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949.

_____. History of the Arabs. Fifth edition. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1953.

Junod, Henri A. The Life of a South African Tribe. Second edition. 2 vols. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1927.

Landau, Rom. Moroccan Drama, 1900-1955. London: Robert Hale Limited, 1956.

_____. Moroccan Journal. London: Robert Hale Limited, 1952.

McKee, William J. New Schools for Young India. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

Ogrizek, Dore (ed.). North Africa. London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955.

Orientation Program for Overseas Personnel. Rabat, Morocco: United States Operations Mission, 1960.

Robinson, James Harvey. An Introduction to the History of Western Europe. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1946.

Rodwell, (Rev.) J. M. (trans.). The Koran. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. (Everyman's Library), 1909.

Wells, H. G. The Outline of History. Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1920.